

PEACE NEWS

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WORLD AWAITS A LEAD

Peace Plan that Needs British Action

THE governments are meeting—first one group, then another—and all the time appear to be discussing not the fundamental question, but all kinds of subsidiary ones that grow out of fundamentals.

"Just now the fundamentals in the disputes which may arise, and have arisen, have all to do with economic and territorial questions which could be settled in a just, equitable manner if only there was a lead given."

This summing-up of the world situation by Mr. George Lansbury at a London meeting last Friday was followed, during the weekend, by an appeal from the President of the United States for a "joint effort in constructing a new and better world order." A British lead in action on the plans outlined in the Van Zeeland Report (which the British Government itself helped to bring into existence) was urged at the meeting at which Mr. Lansbury was speaking, as well as at large public meetings elsewhere.

President Roosevelt supported the argument that action is needed immediately, for his message added:

Cooperation in the solution of economic problems offers one of the practical approaches to the task which the world must undertake. There is a general and growing realization that no nation or group of nations can enjoy prosperity or plenty when a large part of the world is in economic distress.

Cooperation—or War

THIS is a very opportune moment for us to be meeting to discuss the alternative—cooperation or coercion," Mr. Lansbury had said in opening the meeting in Friends House, London.

"The whole question concerning international relationships lies just there."

He quoted the Anglo-Eire and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaties as examples of what could be done—quite apart from the reasons for those settlements having been reached.

SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE

"If you have got the will to bring about a settlement, that settlement is possible," he added.

The meeting had been organized by Embassies of Reconciliation, the body that has arranged recent peace missions to other countries by Mr. Lansbury and others.

Following were points made by other speakers, whose speeches are to be published in pamphlet form:

Dr. L. P. Jacks: For economic cooperation, or "business partnership," capital was necessary in the form of an international fund. At least theoretically, money could be supplied by an all-round reduction on arms expenditure, and pooling the savings.

The Rev. Henry Carter: The cutting edge of human discontent was destitution. "The human figure of the hungry man and his family must be set in the centre of the human stage." The recommendations of the Van Zeeland Report were designed to remove hindrances to world trade and so to meet human need.

Lord Ponsonby: A world conference would be the last stage of the process M. Van Zeeland had suggested. The preparatory work needed thoroughness. The peace movement must not allow the Van Zeeland Report to be pigeon-holed. Dr. Jacks' proposal had within it the prospect of creating a real League—one "linked together by the bond of construction and not by the fear of destruction."

Dr. Alex Wood: Some people rejected the idea of cooperation with dictators. But there were only two possibilities: the method of arms and the method of economic cooperation. We should realize our share of responsibility for present problems, and show a spirit of reconciliation and repentance.

Canon Stuart Morris: Fear was the fundamental problem. It was a spiritual question and the churches must help to solve it. The heads of the churches should be brought together to offer a new lead to a war-weary world.

(Leading article, page eight; other public meetings, page sixteen.)

INSIDE INFORMATION

WALTER H. Hutt was an air warden. The inadequate nature of the training he received, coupled with growing uneasiness concerning the Government's intentions, led him to resign.

On page six he writes of the "training" he underwent and goes on to urge that the only real ARP is a complete reversal of the Government's policy regarding armaments and foreign affairs.

Other writers this week:—

Max Plowman ... page seven

Willfred Wellock ... " eight

Rose Macaulay ... " twelve



PACIFIST POSTER ANGERS VISCOUNT

Special to PEACE NEWS

THE poster shown in the above picture annoyed Lord Castlerosse when he arrived at the Curzon Cinema, W.1, on Thursday of last week.

He showed his own inability to distinguish between offence and defence by adopting an aggressive attitude toward the member of the Peace Pledge Union carrying the poster.

"How does defending this country mean attacking another?" he asked loudly.

A crowd quickly gathered to hear the answer.

"In modern war I am afraid it does," replied the poster-bearer.

But Lord Castlerosse was in too great

a hurry to discuss peace, and disappeared into the cinema.

In the *Sunday Express*, Lord Castlerosse declared that the wording on the poster was "a most offensive thing to say, besides being just silly, particularly as the comrades of 800,000 dead are still alive."

"In fact, I cannot think of a better way of starting a minor war."

The occasion was the premiere of the film *J'Accuse*, and four people from PPU headquarters were distributing pamphlets and selling PEACE NEWS.

Mr. Hore-Belisha was among those who did not accept a pacifist leaflet.

(The Peace Pledge Union numbers many ex-Service men among its members.)

PEACE CALL TO WORLD'S YOUTH

FOR the seventeenth year in succession, on Wednesday next, the children of Wales will broadcast their annual message to the children of the world.

The occasion is Good Will Day, the only international day common to all peoples in every land. It is the anniversary of a conference of governments held on May 18, 1899, at the Hague, which was the first official discussion of peace in time of peace.

When the children of Wales first broadcast their message, in 1922, there were no replies. In 1924, Poland and Sweden replied. By 1925, replies came in scores, and year by year since then, in hundreds from all parts of the world.

REPLY FROM P.P.U.

This is the text of the message for 1938:

This is Wales calling! The boys and girls of Wales are calling the boys and girls of all the world!

We rejoice to think that, above the tumult,

on this one day of the year, we can greet each other as members of one great family, the family of the nations of the future.

The world is full of suffering, cruelty and strife. And we are told that civilization may perish. Let us tell the world that civilization shall not perish.

More than ever the world needs what we alone can give—the confidence and comradeship of youth.

May we then, on this Good Will Day, dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of our fellows in ever-widening circles, to the service of our home, of our neighbourhood, of our country, so that our country may better serve the world to which we all belong?

So shall we, millions of us, grow up to be the friends of all and the enemies of none.

The following reply to this message is being sent from the Peace Pledge Union:

We rejoice that the boys and girls of Wales have broadcast once again on Good Will Day their message of peace to children in every land.

We, who have pledged ourselves to renounce war and to work for peace, believe that this dedication of youth shall be the foundation of friendship between the men and women of tomorrow in every country in the world.

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Canon Morris Defines the AIMS OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION *Challenge of a new Way of Life*

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THE work of the Peace Pledge Union is first of all to challenge people whether they are content to accept that view of life in which they commonly acquiesce, and, having done so, to bring them within a fellowship in which the new way of life may be learnt."

These words summarize the address given by Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU on Tuesday's lunch hour meeting at Friends House, London, the second of four meetings called to discuss "The work before the Peace Pledge Union."

Speaking of the ARP leaflet which, after being sent to the Public Prosecutor by the Chief Constable of Penzance, had been withdrawn by the PPU Sponsors—a decision which has occasioned some controversy within the movement—Canon Morris said:

"There came in question—perhaps that particular occasion brought it more to our minds—whether, after all, a campaign against ARP was the best way in which the PPU could spend its time and energy; whether, as a matter of fact, that was not a side-line, and whether there was not a danger of giving a wrong emphasis. Moreover, there is considerable difficulty in getting an agreed policy on the subject." The Sponsors had therefore decided to correct whatever lack of balance there might have been, and to issue instead a leaflet on rearmament as a whole in which ARP would be given its proper place.

SPONSORS, NOT DICTATORS

Canon Morris emphasized that in taking responsibility for the movement and for all the literature issued, the Sponsors' aim was not to act as dictators, but to express the basis of the movement in a free and individual pledge.

"Any individuals," he said, "within the limits of the pledge, are still perfectly free to publish what literature they like, and to engage in whatever campaign they like, without involving anyone else."

On the immediate activities of the Union, Canon Morris said that in future he would like to see fewer of the type of public meetings they had had in the past, and more meetings—he hoped full-day ones—in the various regions, which would serve as demonstrations of unity, and provide opportunities for full discussion and for the Sponsors to get into closer contact with the movement.

They wanted also to ensure the co-operation and coordination of all other pacifist societies. He hoped, for example, that the Fellowship of Reconciliation would see its way to form Christian pacifist councils, because he did not

believe that they were going to convert the Christian churches except through members of the Christian churches.

LONG-TERM FAITH WANTED

"What I feel is wanted," he said, "is a kind of short-term policy with a long-term faith. It is perfectly easy to say what we are prepared to do today or tomorrow. I am not so sure that we ought to think what we shall do in a month's time."

"I hope we shall always remain so alive and alert that at any particular minute we shall always know what to do. I think that applies, too, to any question of pacifist action in war-time."

"We live in an disillusioned world, but I feel that if we examine ourselves we shall find that a great deal of the disillusion is a kind of selfish indulgence."

"For it is a world where, in the long run, selfishness fails. We are not working against the nature of things: we are always on the side of truth and reality. That is what I mean by a long-term faith. But I am terrified of short cuts."

The Plain Truth of A.R.P.

At a meeting of the Cambridge Town Council last week a request from the British Red Cross Society for permission to hold an ARP demonstration and the proposal to make a £50 grant toward the demonstration were both turned down on the proposition of Dr. Alex Wood, a member of the Council and a PPU Sponsor.

Denouncing ARP as a whole, Dr. Wood said they had been told that the gas bomb might never be used, yet the whole of the air raid precautions scheme now proposed, with the exception of provision for fire-fighting, was directed toward a form of attack that might never occur. There was no suggestion of any effective protection against the more serious form of attack.

The primary intention of ARP in the mind of the Government Dr. Wood continued, was not the direct protection of homes and lives. It was to increase the striking power of the RAF, and that was the plain truth of ARP. The intention was that while the population was suffering at home our fighters should be free to inflict more suffering abroad.

*When shall the saner, softer politics
Whereof we dream, have sway in each
proud land,
And Patriotism, grown God-like, scorn
to stand
Bond slave to realms, but circle earth
and seas?*

—Thomas Hardy.

Public Affairs

COMMENTARY

Reliable News

THE TIMES is always looked upon as a source of reliable foreign news. It demonstrates the difficulty of getting honest news these days when even this paper constantly trips up.

Not long ago, for example, it was stated that Von Moltke would be the next German Ambassador in London, to the astonishment of our own Foreign Office. That was a first-class example of passing on incorrect information received obviously from a reliable German source.

In reporting the Rome talks, *The Times* surprised our diplomats by announcing that Dr. Gaus was in Hitler's entourage at Rome. Next day it had sheepishly to tell us that Dr. Gaus was not in Rome after all.

Then it said, too, that Dr. Woermann, recently the principal German diplomat in London was also with Hitler. Now it is not clear at all whether he was there or not.

There was a further lapse during the week-end when *The Times* reported that the German Agrarian Party in Czechoslovakia, which recently joined up with Herr Henlein, had deserted him. Monday's news in the same paper shows that this was a misapprehension. It was explained that attempts were being made to form a new Agrarian party.

The moral of this is not that *The Times* has become any more lax in its efforts to supply us with accurate news. The plain fact is that dictatorships and controlled newspapers have dried up the customary sources of information.

News is harder to get than it was. For plain people it is also harder to believe.

The Popular Alliance

THE efforts to create a popular alliance out of the People's Front have not the ghost of a chance of success, even though all the collective security parties line up behind rearmament.

There is no possible chance of the Labour Party inviting Liberals and communists into their holy of holies, because in sheer brutal tactics they would be giving everything away, and the other people contributing nothing except their secretaries.

But why does the Labour Party not give the country a lead? It claims that the Van Zeeland report is part of its policy but having made that claim it shows no sign of taking the initiative, or indeed of doing anything about it.

Profit on Armaments

IN the summer of 1936 the engineering firm of Ransomes and Rapier, Ltd., made an offer to manufacture shells without profit. On May 1, Mr. Stokes, the managing director of the firm, was reported in *Reynolds* to have addressed his shareholders' meeting as follows:

For reasons which have never been made clear, the Government did not take advantage of the proposals, which is all the more strange in that, from the figures at which we understand the contracts were placed, thirty percent profit could be made on that type of shell.

We feel that the patriotic course for manufacturers is to place at the disposal of the Government a proportion of the capacity of their plant on a strictly limited profit basis, as the "no profit" basis seems to be too revolutionary for them to swallow.

The second offer put forward was that of making arms for a profit limited to ten percent over contract cost.

When Sir Thomas Inskip spoke at the Primrose League demonstration at the Albert Hall, he said there had been wild talk about armament profiteering. He is reported by the *Daily Telegraph* to have said:

An industrialist who is now a politician and a member of the House of Commons—he is a member of the socialist party—has made a public offer, saying that he wants to do armament work on a basis of ten percent net profit only.

I should like to tell him now—as I hope to tell him more directly—that I hope his firm can do something. He shall have the opportunity at competitive prices, but I should like to tell him this: he will have to work for a good deal less than ten percent if he is to get a Government contract.

Ten percent would be a sad piece of profiteering, especially for a socialist. There is no justification for it in his case.

There is a great industrial concern in his own town of Ipswich, which is today working on a five percent basis. Ten percent for a socialist and five percent for the rest of the world.

Is Sir Thomas Inskip's memory lamentably, or just conveniently, short?

Silence is Golden

THE first meetings this week of the League Assembly will perhaps prove a model for the future procedure of the League. The Assembly having ceased to be in any important sense a centre of decision the unhallowed treaties made without its walls are to be laid upon the altar and received in reverent silence.

Lord Halifax's commendation of the Anglo-Italian Pact cannot, at any rate, be taken as more than a ceremonial gesture, and since little more was said it was left to the observers to interpret in various senses the silence which followed the speech as "approving," "humiliated" or merely "polite." What it did signify was the final triumph of bilateral pacts over collective ones.

The Interrupter

THE movement toward the recognition of Abyssinia as Italian progressed curiously. The desire again was for a reverent silence but M. Litvinoff rudely broke it by asking *who* exactly was dissatisfied with the Abyssinian credentials to the Assembly.

After this challenge it was necessary to decide the question instead of letting it decide itself by default.

The appointment of a commission of inquiry, the only decision that would seem likely to delay recognition, was left improbable because of the disbelief in Italian statements which it would imply.

M. Litvinoff's interruption was timely, and will help the League delegates to notice more or less what they are doing while they are doing it.

Jamaica

THE immediate cause of the riots which occurred on estates purchased a few months ago by Messrs. Tate and Lyle was the refusal to accede to the labourers' request for a wage of 4s. a day. They were offered 2s.

The riots were not the first protest of the workers. There have been demonstrations, agitations, and deputations to the Government for more than a year.

The Times referred to the riots as "one of those sudden explosions of excitement, to which negro labour suffering from a sense of grievance is notoriously prone."

In a letter to *The Times*, Lord Olivier refers to statements made by him in the House of Lords on February 23, when he said Tate and Lyle would no doubt introduce economies in the management of these estates:

Messrs. Tate and Lyle are bound to do that, and they will improve the industry and its stability by doing so. They will turn out a great number of labourers, but that is one of the things you have to put up with. When you introduce well-organized British capital you reinforce capitalist organization and you want to have something to balance that. The industry cannot improve unless you have better methods and better capitalization. One side has been attended to, but the other side, the safeguarding of the labourers, has not been adequately attended to.

"Cheap sugar" he says, "is the outcome of sweated labour and not of exorbitant profits on capital."

Tate and Lyle's ordinary £1 shares are standing at about £4 a share, because the dividend declared on them is such that even at that price investors are getting over 4½ percent return.

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WAR RESISTERS' STRENGTH IS GROWING

How British Pacifists Can Help Comrades Abroad

GREETINGS from British pacifists to their fellows all over the world, and especially to those who are suffering persecution and imprisonment in Europe and elsewhere, are contained in a message to all sections of the War Resisters' International and signed by its president, George Lansbury.

"Relatively, our numbers are small," he writes, "but we gain in strength and numbers every day."

"Do not think that people in safety like me do not understand—we do, and because we understand we refuse to follow those who would meet hate by greater hatred."

"We know as all war resisters know we cannot cast out murder by more murder and war by war."

ECONOMIC PLIGHT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD

"Yet we who live in safety must and will do all in our power to assist those



HRISTO IVANCEV

of Bulgaria, a war resister who has just died. He was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, but owing to the efforts of the International, was released after having served three. Unhappily the seeds of tuberculosis were sown in his prison days, and proved fatal.

who suffer by giving such assistance as is within our means.

"We must help people to understand the economic plight which drives men and women to excesses. We know the whole world could easily be organized so as to ensure a bigger consumption of the goods mankind is able to produce."

"I firmly believe," he continues, "We are witnessing the birth pangs of a new age. Man has won marvelous scientific knowledge and produced wonderful inventions, and yet we have not gained the knowledge or wisdom to use these great natural gifts."

BETTER TIMES TO FOLLOW

"But we are learning, and our education is being achieved through much material and mental anguish, but out of suffering the better time will be born, and we who for the moment are outside the sphere of persecution and murder will do out utmost in whatever way we are able to express our abhorrence of all persecution against Jew or Gentile, and bring whatever small or large measures of alleviation we can to those who suffer."

SWEDISH INTEREST IN NON-VIOLENCE

From a Correspondent

Recently translated into Swedish, Richard B. Gregg's book on *The Power of Non-Violence*, and Aldous Huxley's pamphlet *What are You Going to do About It*, have aroused much comment among pacifist and non-pacifist circles in Sweden.

Significantly enough, the organ of the Swedish League of Nations Union, *Mellanfolkligt Samarbete*, has published a long review of the two works, in which it is admitted that "without doubt Gregg and Huxley are right in saying that love and goodness, both socially and politically, are stronger constructive powers than hate and might . . ."

"Even those who cannot agree with Gregg's and Huxley's 'non-violent' theories must have the greatest respect for their uncompromisingly pure ideals. They are fulfilling a big mission if they can keep alive the consciousness of the power of truth and love, for where should we end if we all believed only the powers of might to be realities?"

Campaign to Make America War-Minded

ALLEGATIONS IN SENATE

DESPITE a widespread campaign to foster war-mindedness among the people of the United States, support for a practical peace programme is growing.

A "deliberate attempt by certain interests to propagandize for a tremendous armament in the United States" was alleged during a debate in the Senate. Senator Bennett C. Clark declared:

"I know—and I am not alone on this floor in my information of the fact—that meetings have recently been held in the city of New York presided over by an eminent official of the State Department, and attended by certain eminent naval and military officers of the United States and certain great financiers in the city of New York, in which the proposal has been made that a regular campaign, amply financed, shall be undertaken in the way of propaganda in the United States to make this country war-minded."

If the members of the Senate and the public will take the trouble to read some of the radio broadcasts made since that meeting in New York by Admiral Woodward and other eminent naval officers, they will see the effect and workings of that propaganda.

In my judgment, Admiral Woodward should be court-martialled for trying to influence the Congress by propaganda.

Some of the most prominent American newspapers have also been "subtly undermining the anti-war attitude of the country," reports *Peace Action*.

PRACTICAL PROGRAMME

On the other hand a conference on world economic cooperation held in Washington resulted in great progress toward unity of the peace movement behind a practical programme. The findings of the conference, which were based on a report of a committee of experts—

1. Urged support for the present trade agreements programme;
2. Listed other immediate trade and financial measures that could be taken;
3. Drew up recommendations with respect to colonies, based on the view that the problem is one of "raising the standard of living of native populations through prevention of exploitation and through the development of self-determination";
4. Pointed out ways in which the USA could work through existing machinery for world economic cooperation; and
5. Indicated immediate ways of relieving urgent conditions now existing.

Delegates to the conference took this programme back to their organizations in many parts of the country.

"War is Fascism" say French Pacifists

Opposition to fascism has not deluded French pacifists into thinking it can be overcome by armed force.

This was emphasized in a manifesto issued after the annual congress of the LICP (International League of Fighters for Peace), just held at Arras. "War," declared the manifesto, "is fascism."

The suggestion that France should go to war for Czechoslovakia was also repudiated.

The congress showed the practical side of pacifism by deciding to hold a camp in Alsace for French and German youth in August.

In the wider international sphere the same policy of positive peacemaking was urged by calling for general disarmament and for a conference, representative of all peoples, to reach a friendly settlement of world problems.



A delightful "blossom time" snap of one of the young Basques now at the Peace Pledge Union's Basque House at Langham, Colchester. Postcard size copies are obtainable, 3d. each, from the Peace Pledge Union, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1.

Japanese Refuse War Service

THE American monthly, *Vanguard*, published in its April issue some excerpts from a letter from Japanese anarchists to their Chinese comrades. The letter declared that,

since the war broke out, more than three hundred of our comrades have been arrested in Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, and other cities, on the ground that they translated and printed the publications of the International Anti-Militarist Bureau, and distributed them.

In Tokyo our comrades of the Printing Syndicate were very active. Some of them refused to serve in the Army and the others were doing work among the soldiers.

Although the war broke up our communication of information it cannot, and absolutely will not cut off the real solidarity of the anti-militarists and the anti-capitalists in our two countries.

KEPT LIGHTS ON IN BLACK-OUT

LAUSANNE.

SWISS pacifists have generally complied with the order for total darkness during "air raid precautions" drill, particularly as no violence was implied. Several, however, decided to resist the order and take the consequences so that they might testify to their principles.

Pierre Ceresole had been back from America only two days when a night of "obscurissement" was ordered. He refused to darken his house and was fined after a very courteous talk with police officials.

He also refused to pay the fine and sent instead 100 francs to an institution for the blind, expressing his deep sympathy for those who were "darkened by nature."

He appealed to various higher courts, but lost consistently.

Leonhard Ragaz similarly ignored the orders for putting out the lights. During the drill he went about town to gain a first-hand impression as to the public attitude. During his absence the police arrived and took away every electric light in the house. Ragaz paid the fifty francs assessed against him.

Elisabeth Blaser, head of the cooperative in Le Locle, also refused to comply. The police and even the mayor came and begged her to darken her house, but she maintained her position.

She was fined fifty francs, which she refused to pay, because she was certain the money would be applied to uses which she disapproved. She went to prison for three days where she was well treated and even visited by the prefect.—*Nofrontier News Service*.

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writes . . .

IT is true to say that pacifism in England is too easy and too safe; but it is also true to say that pacifism (anywhere) is too difficult and too dangerous. It depends on what you mean by pacifism.

It is too easy and too safe if by pacifism we mean signing the pledge not to take part in a war that is not at present an actuality, undertaking certain quite legal propagandist activities, and talking a great deal.

But it becomes difficult and dangerous if it means the acceptance of a new set of values, a new morality, and behaving in accordance with them. Some may find the first kind of pacifism sufficient; some cannot.

For those who cannot, pacifism must become difficult and dangerous (like most of the worth-while things that humanity has reached after), for if you wish to live by a new morality in a society which is living by a morality diametrically opposed to it, you are likely to have a mighty interesting and hazardous time. This you need, however, and will accept, knowing that only in the face of opposition can you discover whether or no you have any real strength.

But how are we to learn to make the new values, here and now, the basis for our behaviour? It is one thing to understand generosity, cooperation, self-sacrifice, and charity with the mind, another to act upon that understanding; the force of a society going in the opposite direction seems too strong.

Yet apparently that force can be met and overcome; ordinary men and women have done it. For we are not speaking of saints, or of sects of peculiar people living apart from the world, but of men and women taking their part in the daily intercourse of humanity and still refusing to compromise their ideals.

What seems to be necessary for this is a certain quality of being; it is being which bridges the gap between the thought of the new morality and the behaviour of the new morality; without it, ideas cannot be translated into actions. One must be not only a person who has said no to war, but one for whom war is impossible because it is no longer in his nature. And to change one's being requires imagination and will (which are different from "taking thought"), and a disciplined training.

Some of us are further from the new values and the new behaviour than others. But if you recognize yourself as one of the furthest ones, and at the same time recognize, as if from afar, those new values and that new behaviour as the only things worth living, working and sacrificing for, and as the only means of bringing about peace, then you will not be happy until you begin personally to draw nearer to them, to bridge the gap between them and yourself.

There are different methods for different individuals. One has been outlined by Gregg in *Training for Peace*. But that the training must be active and practical, and not merely intellectual, seems essential. Discussion helps the imagination, and to that extent is valuable; but man has a physical as well as a mental existence.

A few have already achieved a condition of peaceful being and have the strength both to behave peacefully and to meet the difficulty and danger of a pacifism which inspires every aspect of their lives. On the other hand there are a great many for whom what has been written here will be highfalutin nonsense which merely complicates the issue.

They may very well be right; but I believe that there are yet others who envisage it as an absolute necessity that they should be in a position to renounce war if it comes by renouncing here and now the warlike values and the warlike behaviour of the society in which they find themselves. Indeed, to me, the pledge demands this and becomes meaningless and hypocritical without it.

Those who feel certain of being able, without some form of training and self-discipline, to honour their pledges now and to the full, seem to me to be fortunate; they have, to say the least, my respect.

News from the Four Corners

EAST

May Day provided an ideal opportunity for the furtherance of the Manifesto Campaign in **Norwich**. Six members (including three members of the City Council) paraded with posters in the Market Place during the demonstration; they distributed 1,600 copies of the Manifesto along the route of the procession, and sold six dozen extra copies of **PEACE NEWS**.

Since then an article dealing mainly with the Manifesto has been published in the local Labour Party monthly, and members have sent out copies of the Manifesto to leading citizens, councillors, ministers, and other leaders of thought.

HOME COUNTIES

A few months ago, after John Barclay had visited the Methodist Sisterhood at **Bush Hill Park**, a peace group—with a view to studying the basic principles of the PPU and if possible uniting with it—was formed.

A few weeks later the Sisterhood Birthday celebrations took place, and a peace pageant was chosen in honour of the occasion.

From being pure entertainment, it developed into pacifist propaganda; lives were somehow altered, a new spirit animated the players, and peace was envisaged as a reality.

At each performance **PEACE NEWS** is sold by the dozen, and Dick Sheppard's "Candid Letter to the Men Who Matter" is eagerly accepted. Altogether much valuable work is done by a group of women who, although not all belonging to the PPU are yet instruments for the cause of peace.

Signatories at **Kingston-on-Thames** have been extremely active. Recently they entertained twelve Basque children to tea from the Basque Home at Kingston Hill.

Last Sunday they took part in the local May Day Demonstration for which members made a PPU banner. They distributed copies of the Manifesto and sold **PEACE NEWS**.

In addition to these activities they have organized or taken part in public meetings, poster parades and debates. The group has adopted an East End family in connexion with the "Good Companions," and members have collected a large quantity of goods for Charles Stuart.

The Eighth Battalion of the Middlesex Regiment recently held a week's recruiting drive which culminated with a march from their headquarters in Windsor Street, **Uxbridge**, to the War Memorial and back again. This afforded a splendid opportunity for an opposition poster parade, and the Uxbridge region took it.

About twenty paraders turned out and preceded the military procession along the route by about five minutes. At the War Memorial they distributed leaflets, and then returned behind the procession.

LONDON

Muswell Hill members have been running a campaign in order to publicize the Manifesto. Over a hundred copies have been sent to local public officials, ministers, and councillors; copies for publication have been sent to local papers together with an account of the proposed summer activities of the PPU for inclusion as a news item; there has been an intensified selling of **PEACE NEWS**, while other activities have included public meetings and debates.

The leading local paper of **Wood Green** commented on the very successful counter-demonstration by the local group when reporting the first ARP meeting and territorial display held in that area last Wednesday. In particular it gave the wording of several of the posters carried. Although the people in the meeting were warned that they would be handed leaflets disagreeing with ARP and to ignore them, members were able to distribute over 1,000 copies of the Manifesto and the leaflet, "ARP. A message to every householder." In fact people were asking for them.

MIDLANDS

Extensive advertising as far as a month in advance no doubt accounted largely for the success of a recent film show of *Kameradschaft* at **Erdington** near Birmingham; about 320 people attended.

A poster parade and leaflet distribu-

tion were held on the Saturday a month before the show. This was followed up on the next two Saturdays by posting ticket sellers at various points in the town with *Kameradschaft* posters.

On the Saturday a week prior to the show a "loud speaker" unit, with a crew of amateur broadcasters, travelled round the town inviting the general public to "make sure of their seat for *Kameradschaft*," while half a dozen ticket sellers sold their wares. This was repeated on the day before the show.

The Bishop of **Peterborough** is one of those bishops who, as reported in **PEACE NEWS** last week, are supporting ARP recruiting plans in their Diocesan Leaflets.

The **Northampton Chronicle and Echo** recently reported that he had come to the support of the Northampton Borough Chief Constable and Chief Coordinating Officer for air raid precautions.

The bishop's decision has been greeted with a deluge of correspondence and five members of the local PPU group succeeded in having letters published in the same issue of the *Chronicle and Echo* as that in which the report appeared.

NORTH-EAST

Hull members took part in May Day celebrations. A number marched from the Peace Centre, the starting point of the procession, where they were joined by others. Their fine banner—*War? We Say "No,"* and the posters all done by members of the group, made a brave show.

The procession, which made a wide detour, was watched by thousands; members distributed many leaflets en route and sold over twenty copies of **PEACE NEWS**.

SOUTH

Considerable activity is reported from all over Hampshire, one of the most encouraging pieces of news coming from **Southampton** group which reports the formation of another group in **Shirley, Winchester, Andover, Haslemere, Fareham, Romsey, and Four Marks** groups have all held successful public meetings, while **Alton** members continue to make themselves felt in the town by opposing ARP.

The unusual position of the British Legion organizing a debate with the PPU was provided at the village of **Four Marks**, near Alton, Hampshire, last Friday.

The British Legion proposed "that this meeting views with the greatest apprehension the movement of the PPU, and would urge upon the public the necessity to be prepared for defence to ensure peace." Colonel N. K. Charteris, who has had thirty years of army life, proposed this, and was seconded by Mr. H. J. Head, of the local branch of the British Legion. PPU speakers in opposition were Mr. M. Tupper, Surrey, and Mr. Frank Hancock, Sussex.

On being put to the vote, 74 were for the motion and 37 against. PPU members rallied to the meeting from **Winchester, Alton, Farnham and Guildford**.

SOUTH-EAST

According to this month's issue of the *Ashford Group News*, the local group has adopted one of the Basque Refugee children now living at the Basque House, Colchester. It is hoped that later in the summer the child will be able to spend a holiday at the home of one of the group members.

WALES

The first meeting of the **North Wales** Regional Committee was held at the Cooperative Hall, Llandudno Junction recently.

The following officials were elected: president, Rev. J. P. Davies, Portmadoc; vice-presidents, Lady Artemus Jones, Llanrwst and Mr. R. King, Bangor; treasurer, Mr. Manford Jones, Wrexham; secretaries, Mrs. C. B. Huws, Dolwyddelan and Mr. R. E. Holland, Dolwyddelan.

The committee discussed the possibilities of organizing the whole of the North Wales Area, and were convinced that the appeal of pacifism will be enthusiastically received throughout the district.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

On Planning Communities

I HAVE been discussing a plan which seems to me to be sound and which, if given support by the groups, could be put into practice at once.

Briefly it is as follows: Every member of the group should be asked to fill up a card (issued by me in bulk to each group leader) stating his name and address, and trade, occupation, or profession. These cards would then be returned to me by way of the group leader and would be filed "vocationally," i.e., all Architects would be filed with those working in architects' offices and so on, the purpose being to build up a central bureau so that if anybody fell out of work under pressure from above (or pressure within) he or she could be put in touch with pacifist members of his trade and would be more likely to receive sympathetic treatment. In time it might mean the building up of pacifist communities, and at periods of national crisis members of each category would be able to stand together and assist each other.

When you have talked this over and thought it out, would you lose no time in writing to me, quite clearly stating your approval or otherwise? The scheme would be entirely voluntary and would be run jointly by me and the group leaders, each of us keeping a copy of the file.

Poster Parades

Last Friday I took part in a poster parade at Eastbourne. It was a regional affair and volunteers came from Lewes, Brighton, Hastings, and Bexhill. Altogether 37 of us paraded right through the town and back again, arranged in order of height, the smallest being in the middle.

The procession was marshalled by two group leaders, one taking the front section and one the rear. We were asked to keep five paces apart at all times and to keep the line from front to back as straight as possible. It was an impressive show and large numbers of people watched, many with obvious admiration at the "fine bearing" of the cannon fodder.

It is essential that parades such as these should work with precision and that each member should bear in mind that he is being watched by critical observers quick to notice the bearing and characteristics, and drawing their own conclusion as to the worth of a pacifist. Many remarks were overheard which showed quite clearly that the public were sympathetically considering the messages we carried.

Cooperators' Day, July 2

On July 2 there is to be an international festival at Wembley from 3 p.m. to 11 p.m., and I am wondering if there are any who would like to join me in making up a party to go. Besides the usual sideshows, fireworks, &c., there will be an historical pageant, folk dancing, woodcraft display, sheep-dog trials, community singing, &c.

It will be difficult to get tickets unless applications are made soon. Cheap fares can be obtained for parties, and if you are interested and will write to me, I will send you all particulars. Tickets for entrance are free and for reserved seats inside 6d. Besides those wishing to attend the festival, there may be others willing to take part with the Wembley Group who are proposing to picket all entrances with **PEACE NEWS** sellers and poster boards. Please send me lists of names as soon as possible so that I can make arrangements in good time.

National Peace Congress, May 27-29

The National Peace Congress at Bristol this year should be well supported by members of the Peace Pledge Union. Will you do your best to urge anyone in your group to go as a delegate? Particulars can be obtained from Gerald Bailey, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Grith Pioneers

GRITH is a good Saxon word meaning "peace." Its exact shade of meaning included the idea of sanctuary—there was the grith of the Church, the King's grith, and the grith of special days when violent hands might be laid on no man; but the founders of Grith Pioneers (first called Grith Fyrd, which means Peace Militia) believed that it had also a more positive meaning than the word "peace"; not a mere negation of war implicitly accepting it as inevitably recurrent, but the whole process of the vigorous flow of human betterment of the nation's life.

Many members of the Grith Pioneers support Dick Sheppard's complete renunciation of war, but this is not our special contribution. The point which we emphasize especially is that if we can ennoble peace we shall have conquered war; if we can make nothing of peace we die in any case, and perhaps more ignominiously than by going to war.

We see that our greatest difficulty emanates from impulses of fear, vengeance, envy, destruction and cruelty within ourselves and others, and that survival under modern conditions will be the reward of those who can integrate themselves into large groups within which each member can accept joyfully the self-expression of his neighbours and can feel fully at liberty to live his own life, willingly inhibiting (though not denying to himself the existence of) impulses to conduct which would be too great a strain on the tolerance of his neighbours.

The first aim of such a group is to make life full and satisfying to each of its members; the second, so to act toward other groups as to secure from them the minimum of hostility and the maximum return of rewards and services.

Through the courtesy and cooperation of John Barclay, a brief memorandum has been circulated to PPU group leaders inviting cooperation in the establishment of such experimental

A Member writes on

"Pickets" outside Churches

I wonder if other groups in London would care to do what a few of the Chiswick group did last Sunday. Armed with 1,000 copies of the Manifesto we stood outside the City Temple as the congregation was leaving after the evening service. After the large church had emptied we were left with only about one hundred leaflets.

These well-known large London churches present a unique opportunity for they draw their congregations from all quarters of the metropolis and its suburbs.

Should other groups decide to do this, I think the churches thus visited should be mentioned each week in PEACE NEWS to avoid covering the same ground twice.

If the question of the expense of the Manifesto arises, and those willing cannot raise the total sum from their own group, I feel sure that headquarters would make things as easy as possible for them.

A Chiswick PPUite.

P.P.U. Badges

Although there were over sixty PPU delegates (and probably many more PPU members) at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group Convention on Saturday last at Southampton there were very few PPU badges in evidence. Is it that PPU members are too timid to wear them? Surely not.

Members of other organizations wear badges of all kinds and are proud of them—why shouldn't we do the same? Particularly to help those who want to talk about the PPU but don't quite know how to begin—wear a badge, and curiosity will prompt others to ask what the letters stand for—and there's the chance.

Some time ago a writer to PEACE NEWS complained of the size of the new badge—too large the writer thought. Rubbish! What's the use of wearing a badge no one can see; that would surely prove it was something to be ashamed of, instead of something to be proud of—which it is.

It is time all pacifists were in the PPU and all PPU members wearing "the colours."

MARY N. WILSON.
4 Gleadowe Avenue,
Christchurch, Hampshire.

(Continued from Col. 1).
groups. Communications will be welcomed by the secretary, L. West, at Weir Cottage, Chertsey, Surrey.

J. N. G.

Under the Oak Tree

By LEONARD READ

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

A HAPPY event has occurred at Basque House. Our total population has increased by three. The proud mother of the healthy triplets is one of our tabby cats, whose ostensible duty is the catching of mice, but whose active work seems to be catching and teasing young rabbits. Indoors she is very timid, and the endless comings and goings and manhandling have made her scared and distrustful of children. Now she is the centre of endearments and adulation from them and takes it with a patient good grace as if aware of the excellence of her offspring.

This event puts us in a stronger position for bargaining on the children's behalf. In exchange for material support we have hitherto been able to offer their plain needs, their reputable worth as young human beings and their talent in singing and dancing, and some of the smiling hospitality of the House. In addition we shall have very soon three kittens (two black and one tabby) available for barter or part-payment.

This leaves the way open for a statement, of some of our urgent requirements, in the bookseller's phrase our "Wants List." We need more clothes, because the many we have received have gone the primrose path to destruction, despite delays en route for mending.

For boys and girls there is dearth of socks (woollen ankle sock are best and soon knitted.) The smaller boys have worn their trousers and jerseys and pull-overs to irremediable rags. They would keenly welcome unbreakable corduroy shorts, thick woollen jerseys, and a few strong jackets.

If there are any lightweight shirts, shoes, boots or sandals that have any further wear in them, let them not perish in disuse. For example, one kitten would be bartered against 25 strong jerseys, of assorted sizes, or even hanks or balls of wool (one little girl is knitting socks for the house and for Spain) that are knocking about.

In the way of amusements we should

be happy to receive discarded gramophone records (preferably danceable), a few more hockey sticks, four tennis rackets; and as special favour for the elder boys who are passionately keen on rides and day-trips, bicycles. A ride takes one away from the house into new country, to the sea, in exhilarating effort.

That has placed most of our cards on the cloth, and we do not expect everything at once. This is the time of year for spring cleaning and ridding oneself of stored inutilities; Hoover out the dust and whisk the residue to Basque House.

Don't give your goods away to the rag-and-bone man, exchange them with us. Preferably strong clothes; wool before cotton or silk, and corduroy before flannel.

Don't hesitate to send what may appear unsuitable (the children range from five to sixteen years) and we send what we can't use straight on to Spain. Parents know the clothes problem of the growing child; we are more oppressed by the problem of the wearing child. So please don't waste moth balls on garments you may never wear again.

Muchas gracias!

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

NOTICE BOARD

Supporters for open-air demonstration at Arbroath on May 19 urgently needed. See Diary of the Week.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of PEACE NEWS. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders.—Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow. C.2

PEACE NEWS sellers are wanted, particularly on May 14, 21 and 22, and for an hour, any day, any time during week commencing May 15. Volunteers communicate with J. Michael Rosenblum, 4, Grange Terrace, Chapeltown, Leeds, 7.

Battersea group now meets every Monday at 8.15 p.m. at Free Church House, 32 Latchmere Road, S.W.11.

Rugby group wants PEACE NEWS sellers and volunteers for poster parades, to be organized at their discretion. Write or call 43 Tower Road, or 124 Lower Hillmorton Road, Rugby.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION 96, REGENT STREET, LONDON. W.1

Telephone REGent 2845

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MAY 14TH 1938

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A NEW LEAFLET

"PEACE OR WAR?"

Balanced on a Razor Edge"

THE CAUSES OF WAR
and THE REMEDY

Further details in next issue

I WAS AN AIR WARDEN

By Walter H. Hutt

who, besides having been "trained" for ARP duties, fought in the War, and has held office in a Unionist Association

I DON'T know how many "Ex-air wardens" there are in the country today, but I am one of them.

When the ARP campaign was launched I volunteered for service and was duly enrolled as an air warden.

I was asked to attend a "course," which consisted of three weekly lectures, each lasting two hours; these lectures, delivered at a police station, dealt mainly with the nature, effects, and treatment of various poison gases, and instructions for making a dwelling gas-proof.

This information—and much more—is contained in the sixpenny Official Handbook, and I therefore assumed that these lectures were but a preliminary to the training I would have to undergo.

A month elapsed without any further "training," and then I received a letter informing me that I had "qualified," and requesting me to attend a meeting at which I would be presented with my Air Warden's Badge.

To qualify for the responsible duties of an air warden by attending three simple lectures is so fatuous that I resigned, but my resignation was also prompted by my growing uneasiness regarding the trend of the Government's foreign policy, and the frantic haste with which it was, and is, placing the whole of the country on a war footing, the effect of which is to create a widespread sense of the inevitability of war.

IN his recent speech at Birmingham, the Prime Minister said:

The object of the Government's policy is to maintain peace, and to give confidence to the people so that they may go about their occupations free from a sense of menace lurking always in the background.

That sounds good, but the ever-increasing note of urgency which is manifesting itself in the armament and ARP campaigns simply makes it impossible for people to go about their occupations "free from a sense of menace lurking always in the background."

By creating and fostering a "war mentality" among the people, the Government is defeating the declared object of its policy.

When I read in the press that a scheme of compulsory registration has been prepared, that a Conscript Bill has been drafted, that a Food Controller and his staff have been appointed, that the Government intends to purchase our entire wheat harvest, that boys of fourteen to eighteen years of age will be put into uniform as part of our air defence programme, and many other equally disturbing indications, I really begin to wonder if the Government has some vital information, unknown to us, which is of such a nature as to convince the Cabinet that another European war is inevitable. While wishing us to believe that all these efforts are for the maintenance of peace, is it actually making feverish plans to meet what it regards as the logical outcome of the present situation in Europe?

THE consequences of this country being engaged in a major war are too terrible to contemplate, and that risk must be removed at all costs.

How can that be done? Well, to begin with, the Government cannot carry on a war unless the great majority of the people is behind it.

All those who do not wish to involve themselves and their potential "enemies" in mutual massacre and destruction should take immediate and energetic steps to make it perfectly clear to the Government that in no circumstances will they go to war or take any part in the preparations for it, nor will they be a party to any line of conduct likely to cause any other nation to entertain such feelings of hostility toward us as to make it want to go to war with us. In that connexion I maintain that the intensification of our armament programme is definitely provocative, because the assertion that our armament are "defensive" would scarcely

deceive a child. The coming of the bombing plane has finally destroyed "defensive armaments," and the obvious and only purpose of arming is for attack.

The issue between peace and war vitally concerns every one of us. It is one which we have a personal responsibility to discharge, and we cannot delegate that responsibility to any Government, however popular and powerful it may be.

With an entire absence of hostility and in a spirit of friendship and good will, we must unite to bring inexorable pressure to bear on the Government to change its policy. If we fail in that, we must resolutely adopt a policy of complete non-cooperation, whatever personal sacrifices such a course may entail.

The will of our people is for peace, but the utter fallacy of the attitude reflected in the Prime Minister's recent statement that "one of the ways of securing peace is to prepare for war" must be clearly demonstrated before that will to peace can become effective.

I FIRMLY believe that if we were to disarm, we would be the greatest force of peace that the world has ever known. As no nation wants to bear the financial burden of huge arma-

ments, I feel sure that France and other countries would follow our lead.

What are we going to do about it? Are we going to allow this Government to pursue a course that can only end in war, or are we going to make an uncompromising stand in the cause of peace? I cannot answer that question for you, but I know what I am going to do: by pen and tongue I am going to oppose the rearmament programme with all the energy and force I possess.

I am an ex-soldier, an ex-air warden, and lastly, an ex-vice president of a Unionist Association, because I cannot continue actively supporting the National Government.

But I am not content to remain just an "ex-," which is purely negative; I must do something positive, so I look round to see in what direction I can make the most effective contribution to the cause of peace.

My personal feeling is that I cannot help by joining any of the political parties now represented in the House of Commons, with the exception of George Lansbury and his friends, who are too big for any party label.

All the large political parties support the rearmament programme and rely upon armed force as the ultimate weapon, so I must look elsewhere for the opportunity of service, and naturally

my thoughts turn to the various "peace organizations." In that connexion I must admit the most lamentable ignorance.

HAVING so recently made up my mind as to what my attitude ought to be, I have not studied the aims and methods of peace movements, most of which I know by name only, through seeing references to them in the press.

A short time ago I was persuaded by a street-seller to buy a copy of PEACE NEWS. That was my first introduction to the Peace Pledge Union.

I am impressed by the clear and uncompromising wording of its pledge, the sanity of its Manifesto, the wise planning of its organization, and, above all, by the fact that it is a courageous effort to solve the most vital and pressing problem that confronts the world today.

The Prime Minister has appealed to us to be prepared to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary in order to equip the nation for war, but I am convinced that the only sacrifices which will have any virtue or value will be those we are prepared to make in order to equip the nation for peace.

It is therefore with a glad heart that I make the transition from ARP to PPU, prepared to make any sacrifices that may ultimately be involved by adherence to the pledge, and, with zeal and effort, to do all that I possibly can to extend the influence of the Peace Pledge Union, and promote the interest of the paramount cause for which it stands.

Ossietzky: the Man Who Wouldn't Run Away

CARL VON OSSIETZKY, the German pacifist who died last week, was the first man in the history of the Nobel Peace Prize to receive the award as the result of years of suffering for his faith.

The fact of the award is known to most people. What is not so widely known is the part Ossietzky played in the years after the War, and the courage he showed when the Nazis came into power.

That courage showed, in the long run, its power to withstand all the persecution and oppression of which the modern totalitarian State is capable.

In Ossietzky's case, it eventually won admiration from one of those whose views were opposite to his own.

When, in March, a Berlin lawyer was charged with embezzling some of the peace prize money, a German secret police officer said: We have found all along that Ossietzky is a man of fine character and an idealist, who never changed his opinions to court favours.

Such a tribute shows Ossietzky to have been something more than a man putting forward his views from the comfort of an author's chair. His writings no doubt converted some to his views while it was safe to hold them openly; but his readiness to suffer for those convictions when it was no longer safe to hold them openly may, for all we can tell, have incalculable results.

THIS courageous man was born in Hamburg in 1887. In 1912, largely as a result of his conviction that he had to fight a "very brutal military dominance," he joined a peace organization.

Then came the War, which was to confirm him (as it did so many others) in his anti-militarist views. He fought until 1918 as an infantryman.

Almost immediately after his return to civil life he started a small pacifist weekly and organized the Hamburg group of the German Peace Society. He wanted to educate the new Republic, to



make every German feel a hatred of war. From 1921 to 1923 he was foreign editor of the *Berliner Volkszeitung*, and during the same period organized the German section of the international No More War Movement.

After that he was foreign editor, for a year, of the pacifist weekly, *Das Tagebuch*, subsequently leaving that for the editorship of the radical pacifist weekly *Die Weltbühne*.

IT was an article in this paper that led to his first clash with the authorities. He attacked those whom he believed to be secretly reorganizing militarism. As a result he was fined for libel.

Then he was accused of high treason because of an article apparently hinting that civil aviation was being secretly militarized. While the charge dragged on, from 1929 to 1931, his campaign continued.

Advice to escape came to him from all sides, but he refused. In 1931 he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Even then he was given a chance to leave the country.

But his reply, in *Die Weltbühne*, declared: The whole reactionary press would declare that I had gone over to the enemy. Who wishes to fight the

evil spirit of a country must share that country's fate.
So he went voluntarily to prison.

THREE months before Hitler came into power public opinion secured Ossietzky's release in an amnesty. Within those three months he was to enter on a period of suffering which ended with his death. Here is the sequence of events at the beginning of 1933:

January 1: Ossietzky again editor of *Die Weltbühne*.

January 30: Hitler becomes Chancellor.

February 27: The Reichstag in flames.

February 28: Ossietzky in Spandau jail.

Again he had refused to run away—despite the old argument, familiar to all pacifists, about duty to dependents—and had been included in the great round-up of anti-Nazi forces that followed the Reichstag fire.

HE remained until the summer of 1936 without trial in Sonnenburg concentration camp.

What he underwent there may never be known, but, following world-wide protests it was revealed in September, 1936, that he was suffering from heart disease and was in the police department of the State Hospital in Berlin.

Three years of internment in the concentration camp had broken his health, and the authorities seemed anxious he should not die in prison.

He had suffered from tuberculosis before his arrest, and it was tuberculosis of the brain from which he died.

Later, he was released—only to enter a sanatorium, where he had apparently remained under police supervision until his death. He was not allowed to go to Norway to receive his prize money (which was sent to Germany) or to Switzerland for health reasons.

Ossietzky is dead, prematurely killed by the privations which followed his refusal to run away. Let us not forget those other German war resisters who, for over five years, have been interned in concentration camps and are there today.

(Leading article, page 8.)

*Speaking Personally*ON THE NATURE OF THE PEACE
PLEDGE UNION

"SPEAKING personally," I take it, one is free to say the things one wouldn't speaking officially, impersonally, or even as a sponsor of the PPU.

Speaking personally, I have never been very good at speaking impersonally; but I don't altogether lament the fact because I have observed how easy it is for people who speak on behalf of religious communities and political parties to adopt the herd vices of cant and rhetoric. If I follow them here I shall only have myself to blame.

While I was secretary of the PPU many people used to write to me wanting to know what was the official policy of the PPU on this, that, or the other question.

But they were misguided in putting such questions to me, for the simple reason that I have never been able to persuade myself either that the PPU had, or that it ought to have, anything that might be described as an official policy.

So I am afraid my replies were nearly always in the form of *tu quoque*: ask yourself.

Speaking personally, I think that one member of the PPU has as little right to determine what shall be the policy of the PPU as another; and as I know of no means by which a member can be prevented from following any particular line of policy which commends itself to him. I feel as uninterested in what is sometimes called "the general consensus of opinion" as I am in the views of any individual who presumes to speak on behalf of the movement as a whole.

He can speak for himself and in so doing may, by luck, or by grace, speak for us all; but not by the discreetest judgment; for he lacks authority.

★

SO it is that, speaking personally, I do not believe in imposing policy upon a movement that is based on conviction.

I believe that the PPU is a movement arising out of conviction, and that its course of action is determined by the strength and clarity with which that conviction is held, in contradistinction to an organized body which decides upon a course of action and thereupon frames for itself a line of policy which seems advantageous to its predetermined course.

I quite realize that such a statement is highly contentious; but, "speaking personally" is a safeguarding preface to every contentious statement, so I merely make hay while the sun shines. The reason that statement is contentious is because it actually touches upon the hinterland between religion and politics.

Blake said that "religion is politics." I mustn't stay to explain what I believe he meant by that, and for the sake of conciseness we will say that what a man believes is his religion and what a man does is his politics.

Now in my view, the PPU is not primarily a political movement. Some people will disagree; but, speaking personally, that is my very strong conviction: and it is my conviction because membership of the PPU is not obtainable by agreement upon policy but only by accord of con-

*The first of three
articles by
MAX PLOWMAN*

viction. Membership is not a party matter, but an individual matter; and it is not convertible into a party matter on the ground that the same conviction is held by many. In a word, religion and politics are not the same thing.

★

NOW the interesting thing about the PPU is that it does not claim to be a religious movement.

Whether it is or not is a matter of

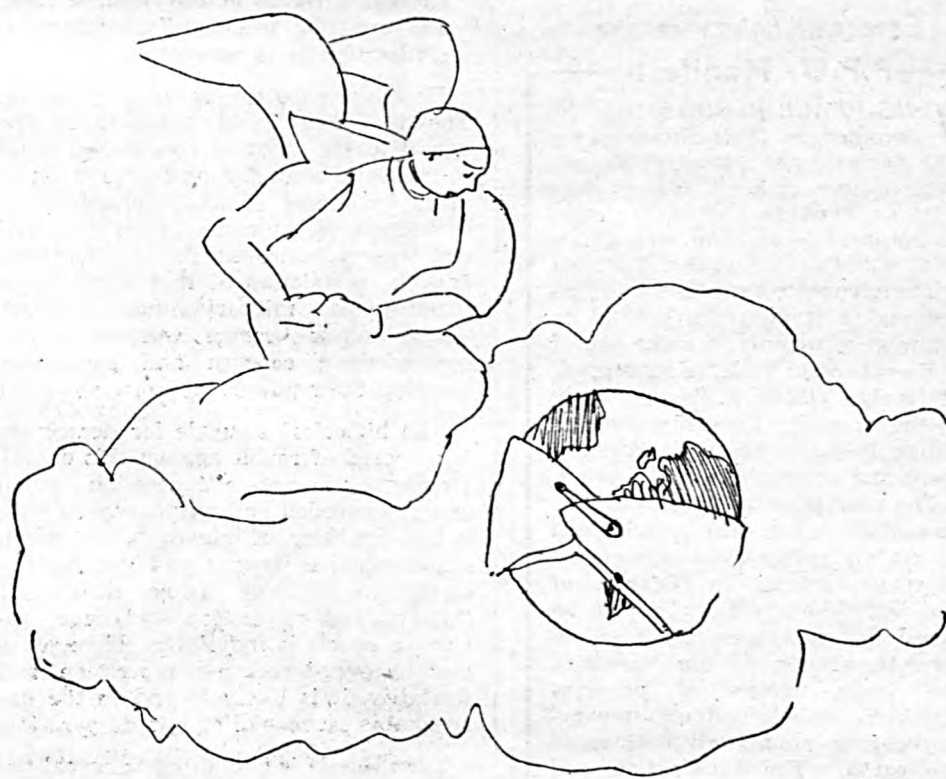
itself into a community of idealists intent upon their own personal pacifist purification and practical understanding of what is known as the technique of non-violent resistance; or must it swing in the other direction and lay down a practical policy after the pattern of the ordinary political party—a policy which, if accepted by a majority of persons of any convictions or of none, will achieve the peace of the world?

Well, speaking personally, I believe the specific value of the PPU lies in its power to withstand either of these courses. In its nonconformity either to the religious or the political pattern lies its peculiar practical merit.

For it represents, to my mind, the incision of principle into the stream of activity which is religious at its root and political in its branches. But I ought

"Angels Unite"—II

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"There now!—I won't leave you!"

perfectly free personal discovery; we may hold that it is or it is not, and no one can say us nay.

On the other hand, I think that its founder, and those who have understood it best, have never claimed that it was a political movement.

So it is suspect on the one hand by the orthodox churchman and on the other by the party politician. Is it therefore good for nothing?

If not, is it inevitably destined to become dominantly religious in the sense that it must be content to enunciate a belief, or beliefs, that have no immediate effective applicability to "practical" politics, and thus convert

to say that to me religion without individual conscience is quite meaningless.

The religion that functions without regard to the individual subjective realization of truth is, in my opinion, as doomed to rot as the branch of the tree that has been deprived of its sap; while the politics which does not acknowledge its root in religion is doomed to become... well, what English politics have become today. And what is that?

Speaking personally, I consider that English politics are the quintessence of unprincipled temporizing. And I believe the function of the PPU is to bring the test of reality both to religion and to politics.

Will you do the
Same?

From a reader

The day I get my PEACE NEWS,
It travels round with me,
Its title folded outward
For passengers to see;
And when I've read its contents,
Quite "accidentally"
I leave it in the café
Where I have had my tea,
Or post it to a Yes-but
In hope that he or she
May wish to join the movement
That means so much to me!

Here's the Answer

—BUT WE DIDN'T
GIVE IT

I AM twenty years old, so that if there is any conscription I shall be in it. I've been around a bit in my short life, and I think I know what's what. My opinion is that two years' compulsory conscription for young men of all classes would be the finest thing that this country could spend its money on."

Answer. "A lot of what you say is true. Conscription does, however, cut right across our conception of individual liberty. Once you start that in peace time then that independence which we've struggled for so long is lost. It is the first step toward the totalitarian State."—*Daily Mirror*, April 4, 1938.

Victory without Violence

They kept their
Heads

AS our boat crept along the river toward Chengtu, China, we became conscious that the boatmen were rowing in dead silence instead of chanting their songs; that the captain was peering anxiously into the thickets alongshore; that even the little river docks, normally so lively, were almost deserted.

We asked what it meant, and finally the captain admitted the truth: "Bandits have been killing and robbing in this district. They know you are on board and have been following for hours along the shore. And we must tie up at the next pier."

Miss Miller and I, two white women, would be a choice prize; half-sick with apprehension we saw the pier just ahead. As we made fast the boatmen adjusted their long knives, and the captain brought out a shotgun; not a soul stirred in the village. I heard a low cry from one of the boatmen: the bandits were coming, three of them.

"Captain! put the gangplank down—I'm going ashore!" Miss Miller suddenly cried. He started to expostulate, but she jumped to the dock and, as the bandits approached, bowed low.

The leader, a great burly fellow, looked puzzled, then returned her bow. "Thank you, gentlemen," she said, smiling. "Thank you for coming!" The outlaws looked at her bewildered. "We had heard there were bandits in this country," Miss Miller went on, "and we have been very frightened. Now we know we are safe, and we thank you for coming to protect us."

The leader turned to his companions with a wide grin; they grinned also, and nodded. "We are gentlemen, as you have said," he replied. "There is nothing to fear. We will stand guard and you will be safe."

All night those three, and five or six others, squatted beside the boat with their guns across their knees. And in the morning we went on our way, leaving them bowing and grinning on the pier.

—Dr. Agnes Edmonds, former head of Gamble Memorial Hospital, Chungking, China, quoted by Lowell Thomas in *The Commentator*.

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

May 14, 1938.

DON'T LET THEM FORGET THAT REPORT

NATURE abhors a vacuum. It is therefore essential that those who are urging on their fellow-citizens the need for renunciation of war should have something that can be put in the place of the thing they condemn.

The meeting held in London by Embassies of Reconciliation last Friday made it clear what the alternative must be. As DR. ALEX WOOD pointed out, there are only two ways open: the method of arms, and the method of economic co-operation.

There is no longer any excuse for pretending that the method of economic co-operation is an impractical suggestion put forward by irresponsible people who do not have to face hard facts. For, as the chairman of the Peace Pledge Union pointed out at the meeting on Friday, the Van Zeeland Report presents a detailed series of steps that can be taken to give effect to the principle of economic co-operation, and justifies much that pacifists have long been urging.

On Saturday the President of the United States issued a message declaring that "cooperation in the solution of economic problems offers one of the practical approaches to the task which the world must undertake."

The duty of all who see in such cooperation the only lasting solution to problems now threatening to precipitate war is clear: they must create a public opinion to demand that Britain shall take the initiative.

The British and French Governments commissioned M. VAN ZEELAND to investigate the problems to which his report attempts to provide a solution. The American Administration realizes the need for action. Could there be a better case for the democracies to give proof of that will to peace of which we hear so much?

The Van Zeeland Report must not be pigeon-holed. An alert public opinion can see that it is not.

Carl von Ossietzky

WITH the passing of CARL VON OSSIETZKY the world has lost a very brave man. In this country tributes to his courage have been paid by newspapers as far from his pacifist ideals as *The Times* and the *Daily Worker*.

The latter paper has also given expression to the feelings of those who charge the Nazis with having murdered Ossietzky—slowly, but as surely as if they had shot him. If this be true, one cannot avoid the conclusion that a large share of the guilt rests on those whose treatment of post-War Germany was directly responsible for the coming into power of the Nazis.

In remembering Ossietzky, let us also keep that fact in mind.

WHAT the FUTURE HAS in STORE

WILFRED WELLOCK
concludes
his examination

WE are now thrown back on to the constructive proposals of the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto. The immediate application of these proposals would do three valuable things: It would

Take away the occasion for further fascist aggression;

Compel the fascist dictators to satisfy the demands of their people for a full and free life;

Strengthen the anti-war feeling in the fascist countries and so make war a very risky adventure.

And let it be remembered that the people of Germany, Italy, and Japan desire peace as ardently as we do.

But what have pacifists to say to the argument that while fascism may have had its origin in economic injustice, it has since developed an ideology by which conquest is demanded on racial and idealistic no less than on economic grounds? German nazism, for instance, expounds a doctrine of "blood and soil," deifies race, deifies the Führer, and glorifies war.

The German race is glorified into a new Chosen People who must be brought together and placed at the head of the human race.

In Japan a similar ideology is taking root. Through the deification of the Emperor, supported by an army whose mission is thereby spiritualized and glorified, the Japanese people are being

Essential Points in the P.P.U. Manifesto

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:—

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations. The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

NOW IS THE TIME

when every democrat should concentrate upon, and call his government to confront, the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world. The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn by a statesman appointed by the Governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that. When the causes are faced, a solution, which could meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the general standard of life, and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it.

Copies of the full Manifesto are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

initiated in a very intensive patriotism, which involves carrying the blessings of Japanese civilization to all the peoples of the Far East if not indeed to the ends of the earth.

The German "mission" is now under way in Europe, while Japan is penetrating every quarter of the Far East.

The question thus arises: Are the people behind the dictators in all this? The evidence suggests that they are not.

★

AT this juncture I believe we are thrown right back upon fundamental principles, upon human nature itself, the needs and aspirations of the human soul.

The real question is: Are the conditions which are essential to dictatorship compatible with the demands of the human spirit? There can be no doubt about the answer.

Human progress depends upon the free evolution, expression, and reception of ideas. To restrict the field from which those ideas may come is an insufferable interference with the process of human development, the denial of the deepest and most highly cherished rights of the human soul, and must be successfully resisted if civilization is to survive.

Decadent robotism is the alternative. The real evil in dictatorship is the denial of the right of the human mind to make its contribution to the stock of ideas by means of which character is developed, the human spirit is perfected and society improves its relationships, and the restricting of that right to a handful of military-minded egoists, whose minds become warped by an ever-growing concern and passion to increase their power.

The historical struggle for democracy is a record of revolt against this denial. Democracy is not a concession which can be conceded and withdrawn at will: it is a condition of human development, a soul-need; destroy it and you destroy civilization. Take away liberty of thought and expression and degeneration or revolt is inevitable. If revolt is met by ever-increasing repression and brutality, it is likely to end in the unspeakable carnage of men in desperation.

Even Russia is beginning to reveal the symptoms of this decay and this revolt. It is a major tragedy that one of the most inspiring exhibitions of applied idealism the world has ever known should be jeopardized by the love of power and the denial of democratic rights.

★

IN Germany and Italy also the signs of decay and of worse terrors to come are visible. The revolt of the German Evangelical Church is only one indication of the realization that dictatorship involves the decay of human personality.

What the Nazi leaders are trying to secure from the church is spiritual sanction for such things as the deification of race, and of the Führer, and the glorification of war into an instrument for realizing the racial hegemony of Nazi Germany.

It is inconceivable that the millions of whilom socialists, radicals, pacifists, also the teaching profession and intellectuals in all walks of life can tolerate life under the narrow horizon set by nazism; they must be enduring unspeakable agony living in enforced

silence or compelled to teach doctrines which conflict with their deepest convictions.

Fascism arises in economic collapse, and first appeared in the Have-not nations, as one would expect. But it threatens every nation whose economic system support class privilege. The only hope of escaping dictatorship is in the bold application of the principles of economic democracy and international economic cooperation.

The supreme need of the hour is the emergence of a British Government prepared to apply policies which accord with the idea of human brotherhood, and to broadcast its intention to the whole world.

Were that to happen, fascism could not survive. All the best elements in all lands would be drawn together in a mighty fellowship, while fascism would be hurled back upon itself, so to speak, and compelled to face demands it possesses neither the will nor the intellectual and spiritual equipment to meet.

★

PEACE action should be concentrated on this issue with all speed and resolution. It is necessary to remove at the earliest possible moment every reason or excuse for war on the part of the fascist Powers.

Take the case of Japan as an example. Nothing can prevent Japan from becoming the industrial teacher and leader of the greater part of the Far East.

What a calamity, therefore, that she should be driven to establish her trade and economic relationships by means of militarism. Were she given reasonable opportunities to expand and develop, to apply her undoubted skill, and to exchange her goods for the food and raw materials she needs, the spirit of conquest and domination would depart from her intercourse with her neighbours.

It is by such means that fascism and war will be banished from the earth. These evils will be destroyed by truth, not by fear and falsehood, by justice, not by the sword. The sword will only exchange one repression for another.

Our concern is not to consider how to kill fascism, but how to remove the injustices on which it thrives. Justice alone can lay the foundation of peace, upon which good will may build the world of our dreams.

Another Sponsor

HAROLD F. BING

will write in PEACE NEWS

—next week—

Creative Peace

I wish there were another word for Peace,

It has a feeble thought which I abhor,

And all of us would rather we might cease

With a decisive ending such as War.

But words are liars and War is camouflage

For loathsome mud and ghastly idle hours,

For flabby hate and useless sabotage,

For maddening pain and livid screaming showers.

In place of "Peace" read "Eagerness to live,"

"Desire for life which sets our minds on fire,"

"A constant purpose, strong, definitive,"

For Peace is a pregnant promise; War a pyre.

—Frances Smith Johnson in *Peace Digest*, USA.

INDICTMENT AGAINST WAR—

“Robber, Masquerader, & Murderer”

A WAY TO END THE CRIME

From Our Own Correspondent

“WE have put war in the dock, charged with obtaining money by false pretences because of the vast expense of armaments which cannot produce what they are said to do, with masquerading as a policeman, and with the ultimate sin of murder.

“If you are prepared to bring in a verdict of ‘guilty,’ then you should support the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto.”

With this simile did Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, move an emergency resolution at the Southampton Convention of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, on Saturday, calling for united support of this constructive form of peace-making.

“There are now about 120,000 members of the PPU,” he added, “and we want to make it 500,000. If PPU people will obtain four more members each during the next six months we can do it. It is not an impossible task. With that strength this Manifesto will commend itself to people who have had put before them the only alternative to war.”

Success of Southampton Convention

THE convention was one of the most successful yet organized. Mr. James H. Hudson, who was the capable and genial chairman, appealed for financial support for the conventions to be carried on.

They started the idea with no funds and were now about £50 down. The Southampton Convention was about the seventh held and there were to be more at Newcastle, Leeds, North and South Wales, and in the West Country.

Mr. Hudson appealed for pacifists to make the sacrifices in peace-time that they would be called upon to make in war-time. One result of his appeal was that the collection amounted to £24.

All the resolutions, similar to those carried at other conventions were passed.

A WOMAN'S VIEW

The first resolution, dealing with the renunciation of war, was proposed by Councillor Mrs. Stonehouse, who was acting for Miss Rose Simpson (secretary of the Women's Cooperative Guild). She said, “women claim the wastefulness of warfare was never more apparent than the present time.”

There was no defence in modern war, she continued.

“There are air raid precautions. I call them the farce of air raid precautions.” Against the modern methods that would be used there was no real protection.

Seconding, the Rev. W. H. Bridge, a young Southampton Methodist Minister, appealed for clear thinking. A few years ago, when they gathered round the war memorials and said, “Never again,” they were thinking clearly.

Now people were again thinking of the war method when they knew from the experience of the Great War that it was not the commonsense way of solving the world's problems.

HITS THE WORKERS

The Rev. Henry Carter, who supported declared that intensive armaments throughout the world meant the standard of living of the working-class people was falling.

“You cannot end war by war; it only degrades liberty,” he added.

Mr. Carter declared humanity was a unity, irrespective of country, class, or creed.

“There are certain simple elementals; reason, good will and a desire to help rather than hinder. That is what we mean when we talk of humanity as a whole.

“That is why war is a crime, because it shatters and batters that oneness.”

Mr. LANSBURY'S SOLUTION

Mr. George Lansbury moved the resolution putting forward the practical and positive pacifist policy.

He pointed out that pacifism had never been tried.

“I have lived through no end of wars and I know perfectly well, not from theory but from experience, that war leaves things worse than when they started.”

Certain countries were questioning the right of a few Powers to hold the greater portion of the world. “You are facing international revolutionary forces which are expressing themselves through the jingoism of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Polish and Japanese Governments and through the nationalists in India. You cannot settle that by brute force.”

A new League of Nations was wanted. The USA, Germany, and Italy, he believed, would not join a League which believed in sanctions and collective war. Countries must meet together and discuss in a friendly manner how to adjust territorial rights, raw materials, trading, markets, and international relationships of one another.

“Do not believe those who say that is impossible,” he said.

Lord Arnold seconded.

CHURCHES & ARP

Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, moved the resolution calling for the removal of all preparations and commitments of a military character.

Mr. Frank Hancock seconded. Dealing with impressive platforms to be found at ARP meetings, he said that in a feudal county like Hampshire they followed their hereditary aristocracy—“not like Bow, where they have the aristocracy of George Lansbury. In his borough there is less than one volunteer a day for ARP. That is the result of good education.

“In our county we have the aristocratic leaders. I do beg of you to remember their record when they come and ask you to volunteer for ARP.”

The Rev. Henry Carter said the Church, acting corporately, should have nothing to do with ARP. What an individual did was another matter.

As to the appeal by the Government to the churches to support ARP, he said the Presbyterian Assembly had decided the other day that it was not the proper work of the Christian Church to do so.

The Rev. H. J. Dale said the Baptist Assembly had met the previous week and nothing was said of ARP.

As usual there was an inspiring winding up speech to the convention by Mr. George Lansbury.

Today's convention at Norwich will be reported next week.

ANGLICAN PACIFISTS TO PUT THEIR CASE

The first big public meeting since its formation will be held by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship in St. Pancras Town Hall, on Thursday next.

Lord Tavistock will be in the chair and the speakers will include Canon Stuart Morris, the Rev. W. C. Roberts, and Mr. George Lansbury. It is hoped that those on the platform will include Miss Evelyn Underhill, Miss Sybil Thorndike and other well-known Anglican pacifists.



ROBERTE

Thank You, Again, Manchester

FOLLOWING the action of Mr. H. Leslie Kirkley, secretary of Manchester Region of the Peace Pledge Union, in securing the Central Library's consent to the display of PEACE NEWS each week, the Fallowfield PPU group has now been instrumental in securing the paper wider notice.

Mr. Raymond S. Wyld, at present Fallowfield group leader, has been advised in a letter from the Chief Librarian that Manchester Public Libraries Committee will take 22 copies each week for display in local libraries.

When, last summer, the Manchester City Council excluded PEACE NEWS from the municipal libraries, the Manchester Guardian commented: [PEACE NEWS] “offers a distinct contribution which no serious advocate of peace would wish to ignore.”

The paper is now displayed in 340 libraries every week. Arnold, Nottinghamshire, being another addition to the list.

Home After 20 Years on Devil's Island

WAR RESISTER YOU CAN HELP

By H. RUNHAM BROWN

THE War Resisters' International has now rescued twelve men from the French penal settlement in French Guiana.

It has been a huge effort necessitating the raising of considerable sums of money.

But our responsibility does not end there; we have to get these men settled in a new life. It is not easy after twenty years in Devil's Island to start life again in Europe.

One man, who after his release had spent many years in the jungle, was finally brought back to France and with him his little coloured, motherless daughter, Roberte. He has since married the sister of another Frenchman released from French Guiana.

£1 NEEDED EVERY WEEK

The little family was started on a poultry farm by the International, but it has not been going well (through no fault of their own).

For the next twelve months we have got to find £1 a week to see them through.

We have five shillings a week guaranteed and are expecting another similar offer.

We want two persons or two groups of persons to guarantee to pay us five shillings a week to assist this little family in a time of particular difficulty. A photograph of the child will accompany the first receipt.

Offers should be sent to H. Runham Brown, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

THE HEALING POWER OF GARLIC

Allysol is an organic vegetable compound based on the principle of garlic—allium—but entirely without the garlic taint of breath or body. It is a most powerful antiseptic for external or internal use, acting in a bland, benevolent manner without injury to the tissues or any part of the body.

This can be seen when pure Allysol fluid is applied direct to a serious burn or scald or to sun-burned skin.

The action of Allysol is not local, but penetrates into the blood stream throughout the entire system, destroying and neutralising bacterial infection and producing a general feeling of bodily and mental well-being.

Rheumatism, catarrh, colds, sore throat, tonsillitis, laryngitis, bronchitis, constipation, pyorrhoea, dysentery, measles and whooping cough; as well as cuts, burns, boils, chilblains and many feverish conditions; all these are treated successfully with Allysol, the garlic remedy without the garlic smell. Allysol actually sweetens the mouth and breath.

Allysol, a true and perfect antiseptic, is non-toxic, non-caustic, non-irritant and non-cumulative. It has no drug effect, but in fact takes the place of drugs and saves their expense. Together with a natural diet—without which no remedy is fundamental—the natural antiseptic method of healing is much superior to drugs, serums, and, in most cases, surgery.

Allysol is in line with nature-cure, and nature-cure is best.

ALLYSOL TABLETS, price 3/- per box (42 tablets), post free.

Four boxes for 11/-

ALLYSOL LIQUID, price 3/3 per 2-oz. bottle, post free.

Fuller information and advice by letter free on request from

G. MILLWOOD, BOXHILL ROAD, TADWORTH, SURREY.

A Woman's Point of View

The Welsh Have
Two Words for It

Women Talking—2

WHERE did we get to last time?

We ended by looking in the dictionary and finding that peace was a compact.

Yes, I remember—and it takes two to make it, like a quarrel.

Well, we've got another language to help us this time—Welsh.

What has that got to say about it?

It seems there are two words for peace in Welsh: "heddwch" and "tangnefedd." The first means absence of war, a truce, and the second, quiet, tranquillity.

That's firstly, peace is a compact; secondly, a state of mind.

Yes, I think they do approximate. You remember we put the attitude of mind before the compact because we decided you weren't likely to be able to make a compact unless your attitude was the right one.

You know it's struck me since then that it isn't only one's attitude that has to be right before one can make a compact.

What are the other conditions then?

I think I can explain best by asking you some questions.

All right. Go ahead.

EASIER FOR THE
PROSPEROUS

Which would be easier: for two prosperous cities to make a compact or two cities, one of which was prosperous and the other struggling?

Easier for the two prosperous cities. Why?

Because a compact between the prosperous and the miserable city will be influenced by the effort of the prosperous city to remain as prosperous, and by the envy of the struggling city and its efforts to get prosperity.

So a compact has no meaning which simply tries to keep things as they are?

None at all, if "things as they are" are favourable to one city and not to the other.

Then which of the two parties to the compact is in the wrong?

The prosperous city. It cannot justly endeavour to remain as prosperous while it has a poverty-stricken neighbour.

So there are some rather awkward preludes to this business of making compacts

Yes, very awkward indeed.

Do you think the right attitude alone can get over those awkward preludes?

EXPERT KNOWLEDGE
NOT ENOUGH

No, I don't. They are economic problems that need expert knowledge. But I do say this. That your expert knowledge can't do it alone either. We've had experts for a long time. We've got to have the right attitude as well.

Let's see how far we've got. First of all we have to get our own minds clear. And I mean clear, and only clear. I don't mean we've got to be able to see every step of the way. I'll come back to that afterward. Then we've got to tackle the problems that make a compact impossible. One way of doing that is to kill off the other side so that they'll keep quiet a little longer.

But our attitude of mind won't allow that. We've got to solve the problems, not put them off or increase them. And we suggest that is done best by discussion, and by the application of expert knowledge to an international and not to a national situation.

Then, and not till then, can we make an enduring compact, an enduring peace. And the aim of that peace is the progress not of one nation but of all nations, not of a few men but of all men.

So when we've got our compact we haven't finished!

NO NEED FOR
BADGES

No, I think we've just about begun when we get there. We can drop the word pacifist then. There'll be no need of a distinguishing label. It'll be as out of place to wear a badge that states "War, we say no," as it would be now to wear a badge saying "I do not burn witches."

You said you wanted to go back to that point of having a clear mind.

Yes. I do want to. I think we may have dismissed our first problem rather hurriedly. I don't want to suggest that this attitude of mind is anything more than an attitude.

I don't quite see what you're driving at.

Well, I'm constantly arguing with people who expect me to have in my pocket a map showing all the main roads to peace. They ask me questions that one would ask of a traveller. When I don't know the answers to their questions, they suggest that I really haven't made up my own mind properly, although I'm suggesting they should make theirs up. They're wrong when they think I am asking them to make their minds up. I don't like the phrase and I don't like the idea behind the phrase.

There is something horribly unalterable about it.

A METHOD OF
EXPERIMENT

I'm glad you don't like it either.

This is my point—that the mind that's made up isn't the sort of mind that can use the method of experiment. And pacifism is a method—a method of experiment!

People usually speak of peace and war as though they were opposites. But war is a method. So the real opposite is pacifism, not peace.

Yes, after all, peace is the end and aim of war. It's the method that's wrong.

A postcard from Scotland this week suggests to me that there is no doubt that women could go on for ever talking about what they think, and pleads that for one week they should discuss what they do. In order to give readers a chance of sending their contributions to this practical discussion, it will appear the week after next.

Keep it as short as possible. Tell other readers what you are already doing in the work of peace, and tell them what your plans are for future work, and how you hope to carry them out.

And here are . . .
TWO MEN TALKINGAn Imaginary Conversation between
a General and a Cabinet Minister:

The characters are fictitious characters discussing a fictitious situation in a fictitious country.

The Cabinet Minister speaks first: War hasn't got much civilian appeal you know. Of course the army is absolutely sound.

The General replies: All absolutely the right stuff.

It's these folk at home. I don't think they'll respond to "Keep the home fires burning." They'll be worried about their own wretched skins.

Huh. Put 'em all in the army.

That's not quite practicable, you know. We must keep things going at home. After all you'll have leave fairly often. No; what we need is something to keep them occupied. You know the problem about idle hands.

Quite, quite. Let 'em make munitions then.

There's that of course. But that hasn't got quite the right touch.

What about making dug-outs for themselves in their back gardens?

Pages from the past of
GERMANY and AUSTRIA

by S. D. Usherwood

AFTER signing the Armistices, Austria-Hungary was completely dependent upon the good faith of the Allies for the making of treaties which should embody President Wilson's principle of self-determination.

How the principle of self-determination was observed by the Allies in making peace.

By May 29, 1919, President Wilson had withdrawn his opposition to the Italian claim (under the secret Treaty of London, 1915) for a frontier which touched the crest of the Brenner Pass, and gave Italy 200,000 German (Austrian) subjects. The draft (treaty) showed this frontier.

Against these arrangements the Austrian delegates protested in vain. They were more successful when they claimed the German districts of Western Hungary, as being not only German in sentiment but economically indispensable to Austria ("the kitchen garden of Vienna"). . . . This claim was granted on July 20 . . . A smaller, but still valuable, concession was that which restored Radkersburg, originally assigned to Yugoslavia.—*Encyclopedia Britannica*, volume 32, page 44.

The Treaty of Peace turned out to be more severe than that with Germany. In comparison with the loss of former German territory and of 3,000,000 German souls, combined with unprecedented heavy economic burdens and restrictions, the acquisition of German Western Hungary and the promise of the Allies to assist in the reconstruction of Austria seemed but poor advantages the value of which remained to be proved.

September 20, 1919. The Treaty of St. Germain was signed.

National majority given to Czechoslovakia—8,760,000.

National minorities given to Czechoslovakia—4,844,000.

National majority given to Yugoslavia—9,971,600.

National minorities given to Yugoslavia—2,160,000.

(J. S. Roucek, *The Working of the Minorities System of the League*, Prague, 1929.)

Article 88 of this treaty forbade the union of German-Austria and Germany.

(The Constitution of the German-Austrian Republic was consequently altered and it was called the "Republic of Austria," for it was only under this name that it could obtain international recognition.)

Article 232 allowed Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia to claim "most favoured nation" treatment for three years. (Compare point three of Fourteen Points.)

June 28, 1919. The Treaty of Versailles was signed.

Instead of saying that German-Austria is prohibited from uniting with Germany except by leave of France (which would be inconsistent with the principle of self-determination), Article 80 of the treaty states that "Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed . . . (Article 434) "She agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations." Another part of the treaty provides that for this purpose the Council of the League, must be unanimous. France was a permanent member of the council.

May 27, 1919. Conversation between the British Foreign Office expert, Major, now Professor Harold Temperley and Mr. Robert Lansing, President Wilson's Secretary of State:

"Mr. Lansing . . . said he thought it a great mistake to try to force Austria and Germany apart. Even if successful politically, the attempt would not be successful practically. They would find some way of linking up. Far better to give them (Austria and Germany) the power to unite and hope

they won't use it."—*The Times*—Letter from Professor Temperley, March 15, 1938.

Economic Results of the Treaties.

October, 1922. The exchange value of the Austrian crown had sunk to about one fifteenth-thousandth of its nominal value (24.22 crowns to the £1). The circulation was over two billion crowns.

The League of Nations worked out a scheme for the restoration of the Austrian finances within two years under the control of a High Commissioner appointed by the League, the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia agreeing to guarantee four-fifths of a loan of £25,000,000.

The League High Commissioner reduced Government expenditure and increased the revenue. Thus about 79,000 officials were dismissed or pensioned off by the end of December, 1924.—*Whitaker's Almanack*, 1937.

In May, 1931, owing partly to the world slump in trade, the leading Austrian bank, Credit Anstalt, got into difficulties and had to be supported by the Government. In order to relieve the strain on the Austrian National Bank, The Bank of England advanced £4,300,000 to the Austrian Government on June 16.—*Whitaker's Almanack*, 1937, pages 910 and 911.

This loan put the Bank of England into difficulties which led to the downfall of the Labour Government in August, 1931.

The Anschluss, or Union with
Germany.

There were frequent attempts to bring about closer relations between Germany and Austria. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schober, acting in agreement with the German Chancellor, Dr. Brüning, decided in 1931 to bring about a Customs Union of the two countries. They were asked by the Council of the League not to make the agreement until the Hague Court of International Justice had pronounced whether such an agreement was compatible with the Versailles Treaty. The court decided by a majority of one that the Customs Union could not be arranged, as it would constitute a violation of the treaty.

Internal Strife in Austria.

1934. A reactionary Austrian Government, supported by Mussolini and the Pope, and led by Dr. Dollfuss, curtailed the liberties of socialists and trade unionists in Vienna. They were at last provoked to an armed rising which was put down with great bloodshed (February 13 to 15), including the shelling of their homes in a model quarter of Vienna admired throughout Europe for its architecture.

July 25, 1934. Dr. Dollfuss was murdered by Austrian Nazis. An attempt was made to set up a Nazi State. This failed because of Italian intervention and mobilization of troops. Reactionary government under Dr. Schuschnigg maintained by armed force.

1935. Stresa Conference. Great Britain, France, and Italy renewed their pledge to maintain the independence of Austria.

Invasion of Austria.

February, 1938. Herr Hitler and Dr. Schuschnigg met at Berchtesgaden. Herr Hitler undertook to respect the independence and integrity of Austria in return for the appointment of his nominees to important cabinet posts in the Austrian government.

March, 1938. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, announced a plebiscite for or against "a free Christian-German Austria." But no lists of voters were ready (there had been no election for five years). The question could not honestly be answered by the Nazis in Austria, who were opposed to Austrian independence, but believed in a German Austria. Hitler demanded that the plebiscite should be abandoned.

March 12 to 14, 1938. Armed invasion of Austria carried out by Hitler. Complete union of the two countries, especially in trade, announced immediately.

Save all the trouble and expense of building shelters. No panicky crowds. Stresses the individual. The masses are nuts on the rights of the individual.

That's a very sound idea. And what about the folk without back gardens. There are a few.

Um. That's a puzzler. What about gas masks?

That's a risk you know. They're shockingly ignorant. Keep coals in the bathroom. They'd probably put them to quite improper use.

What about teaching them? Get a corps of instructors. Keep the busy-bodies occupied—the fellows that like bossing.

A very fine scheme, General. Then of course there are the pacifists.

Great heavens—they're not worth noticing. Shoot 'em sir, shoot 'em.

Rather wasteful of ammunition you know, and it might make them seem like heroes—always a danger. And if we keep them in prison they've got to

be fed. Of course they're very few. But one or two are rather vociferous.

Wait till the war's on and let the mob lynch 'em.

No. That's not quite—er, not quite cricket, if you'll excuse my frankness, General.

You mean, not diplomatic sir. Well, if you're looking for diplomacy why not try suffering humanity.

I'm afraid I don't quite follow you.

Well, they're full of love and what-not, aren't they? Full of urges? Well, there'll be plenty of suffering humanity about. Let 'em bind up the wounded, dig out the dead, help the fire brigade. Anything so long as it satisfies their urge. You won't find them any trouble at all.

There's a great deal in what you say, General. You have an excellent grasp of the situation.

Tactics my dear sir, tactics. Just as valuable as our newest bomber.

M. S.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

THE war on the walls in the North Manchester district has reached the peak of intensity (reports a correspondent). The first attack in thick chalk screamed vehemently

CHAMBERLAIN MUST GO.

A smashing counter-attack by the Government supporters made that into **CHAMBERLAIN MUST GO ON.**

Undeterred, the valiant Communists countered with

CHAMBERLAIN MUST GO ON LONG HOLIDAY

Fresh developments are expected on this front as soon as the Government supporters have reinforced their wits and chalk. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 5.)

ON BOTH SIDES

God heard the embattled nations sing and shout,
"Gott strafe England" and "God Save the King";
God thus, God that, and God the other thing
"Good God," said God, "I've got my work cut out."

—Siegfried Sassoon.

COMPLICATION

When Arthur Balfour launched his scheme for peopling Palestine with Jewish immigrants, I am credibly informed that he did not know that there were Arabs in the country. (Dean Inge in the *Evening Standard*, April 7.)

THE LIMIT

Laws as fantastic as some of those of modern dictators were saddled on to the protesting population. . . . Worst of all, and greatest affront to English traditions, Cromwell closed up an enormous number of public houses. (*Sunday Express*, April 17.)

PETER PANS

Almost any diplomat to almost any other diplomat: When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; and now that I am a man I do the same.

NEWS ITEM

The Prime Minister's bedstead has four brass knobs:

The world is full of discord
And raucous, bloodthirsty mobs—
But Mr. Chamberlain sleeps in a bedstead

With four brass knobs.

There's much too much food—so they burn it.

There are millions of men—but no jobs;

But Mr. Chamberlain sleeps in a bedstead

With four brass knobs.

What heart is there now in England
However so gently it throbs,
That leaps not with pride and passion
To think of those four brass knobs?

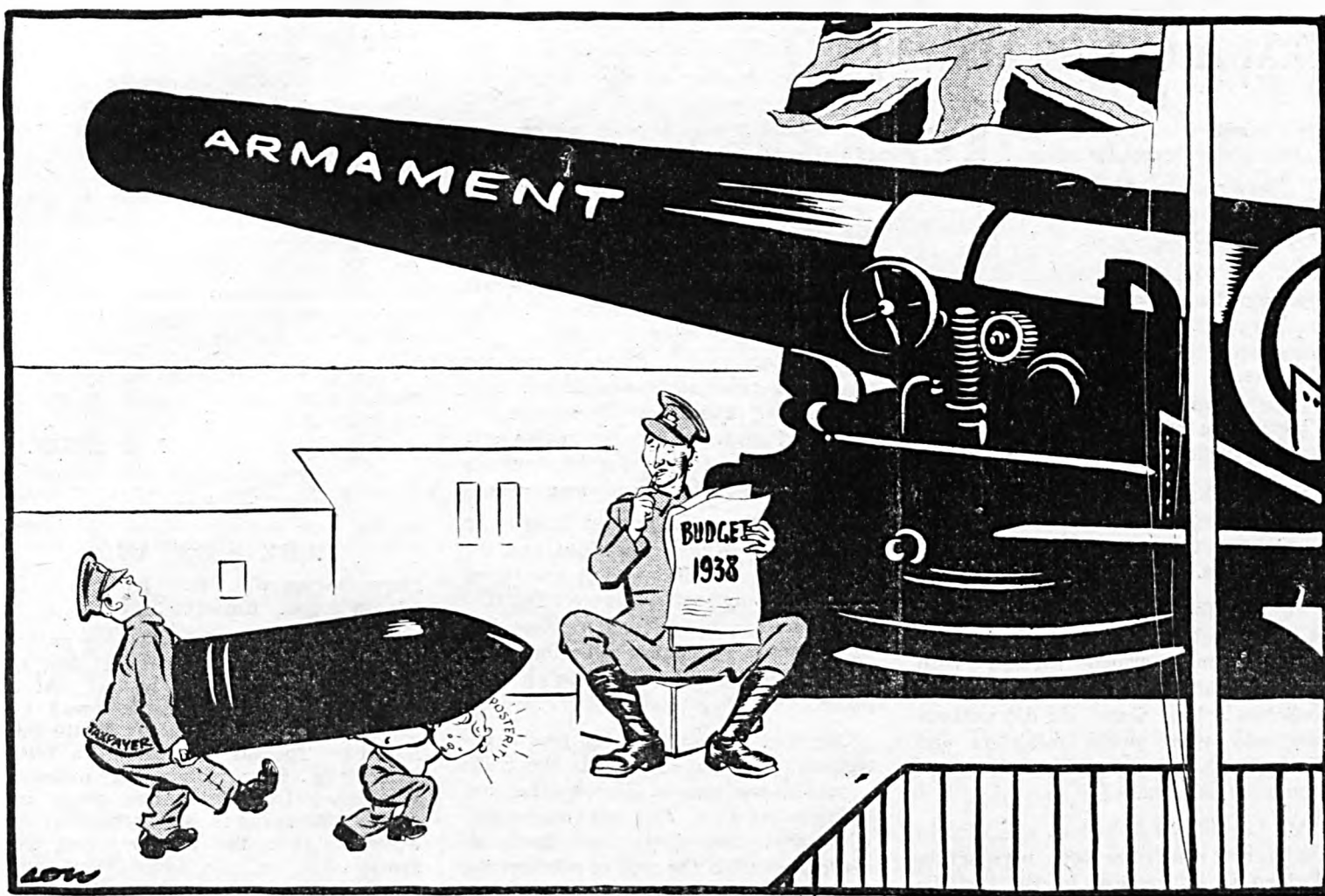
SAYING OF THE WEEK

When you have reached the stage where you can destroy your own work, the worst of your struggles are over.

This is not what the cat said as she ate her third kitten, but Mr. Godfrey Winn's weekly heart throb in a contemporary.

When Mr. Winn reaches that happy stage there will be hordes of great-hearted readers gorged to nausea point who will caper merrily round his bonfire.

LOW ON THE BUDGET



YOU'RE IN THE ARMY NOW.

Courtesy, Evening Standard

PERSONALIA

LAST week we confidently assured our readers that **Humphrey S. Moore** was the third Quaker Sponsor of the PPU.

We were wrong. He is the fourth. The others are Dr. Salter, James Hudson, and Harold F. Bing.

We are now waiting for the other Sponsors to protest that he is not the youngest!

HE ARRANGES CONTACTS ABROAD

SOME of you have heard of the League for Cultivating Friendships Abroad. It is a German organization and its secretary is **Herr Floerke** of Berlin.

Before the advent of the Nazis Herr Floerke founded a movement called Fredika, an unofficial socialist organization for bringing socialists of European countries into personal and friendly contact.

When Herr Hitler came to power Fredika was suppressed. But Herr Floerke had so many contacts abroad that he was considered valuable to the Nazi Party.

He became their official foreign propagandist and apologist for Nazi brutalities at home. He was made secretary of the aforementioned league doubtless with the object of stimulating the tourist traffic.

GAVE UP POLITICAL CAREER

THE rest of this column will be devoted to **Bertrand Russell**, whose services

to pacifism are already known the world over, and whose writings generally have exerted an enormous influence over contemporary thought.

He is a grandson of Lord John Russell, whose widow brought him up.

He declined a political career (Lord Morley offered to make him his private secretary) and devoted himself instead to mathematics and philosophy. But he always retained an interest in politics and spoke frequently on Women's Suffrage and Free Trade.

Opposed to the Great War from the beginning, in 1916 Bertrand Russell was deprived of his lectureship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1918 was sent to prison for 4½ months for pacifist propaganda.

He foresaw the disastrous effect of the Treaty of Versailles and was opposed to it from the start.

When he visited Russia in 1920 Bertrand Russell saw little to admire in its regime of despotism. Since then he has been even more interested in politics and sociology than formerly and has given his attention especially to the problems of child education.

He believes that the avoidance of war and whatever beneficial changes are to come in the social system generally, can only result from an educational system basing itself on the development of the peaceful, rational, and creative side of nature, as opposed to the competitive and destructive.

Bertrand Russell still devotes much of his time to purely philosophical work.

Nursery Rhymes for Modern Times



Drawn by Audrey Wynne

Simple Simon met a Sky Man

In a fast machine.

Said Simple Simon to the Sky Man:

"Tell me where you've been."

Said the Sky Man to Simple Simon:

"To bomb some folks to sense."

Said Simple Simon to the Sky Man:

"Who bore the expense?"

Simple Simon went on asking,

And he found out soon

That armaments mean money

And that money is a boon.

He found out that preserving peace

Is done by making war,

And afterwards the fruit preserved

Tastes sourer than before.

PICTURE WITH AN APPEAL

To the Editor, PEACE NEWS.

Enclosed is a snap—"Milk is best!" I wish I could convey to the public the need of the Spanish children for more milk.

When I took the snapshot I wondered what title to give it to appeal to the public.

"Milk is best"—so give to the Spanish children some of your best.

"Inasmuch . . ." &c.
B. BRADBURY.
Knaresborough.



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NEW BOOKS

LANSBURY PLAIN TALE

My Quest for Peace. By George Lansbury. Michael Joseph. 8s. 6d.

Reviewed by Preston Benson

MR. LANSBURY is a wise old fellow, a human being, a tried man of sentiment. He is the kind of character that sometimes moves glowingly through the pages of Dickens and Hardy, the apotheosis of the plain man of the town or the soil. If he does not understand a thing, he says so. If he gets put on to a good thing, he goes after it like a boy after an apple.

His book *My Quest for Peace* is exactly that: an opportunity, how he took it, and a straight tale of travels in search of peacefulness.

Perhaps the job requires a magician of a kind that has not entertained us yet. Mr. Lansbury armed himself with Christian faith instead of magic, and it took him a long way. He did without ceremony what prime ministers and diplomatists dare to do only after trembling thought.

Mr. Lansbury's great idea was a world conference which has been persistently derided as impractical by the realistic armourers of Europe and America. The conference has not come about yet, but it is significant that there has been a good deal of meetings of statesmen since Mr. Lansbury made his round. Nobody can say the travelling was fruitless. Somebody appears to be exercising common sense and the full revelation may come before long with a rush of light.

The world is full of lies, and if he did nothing else, Mr. Lansbury laid a few of them low. There is a curious mentality abroad these days that expresses its opinion of great figures in vivid and fictitious anecdotes. If they are not true stories, says the critic, they ought to be.

One is the standing story of Mussolini requiring his callers to stride down a long room to the dictator at his big desk. Mr. Lansbury was informed by friends that he would be made to feel a worm. That was not his experience.

Mussolini and Ciano met him courteously at the door and expressed themselves privileged. The visitor's plan for a world conference was discussed seriously and in detail. Italy, the statesmen said, would play a proper part in any conference that was called.

"Nobody I have met," relates Mr. Lansbury, "has a keener appreciation of the true causes of war than Mussolini." He has an economic foundation for his national policy "as sound as that of any socialist I have met."

It is said that when one goes to talk with Hitler, he delivers a lecture and that is the end of it. Again this was not Mr. Lansbury's experience. He had no difficulty in arranging to see Hitler and was welcomed cordially. The traveller found Hitler a man not at all ashamed of his humble origin, a man whose simple-living "is in line with the Soviet communists and the other truly socialist leaders."

Mr. Lansbury, moreover, had his say. "I went to Herr Hitler," he records, "knowing that were I a German citizen or a Jew I would not be allowed to say even in private the things he patiently listened to from me."

"During the two hours' talk, the German dictator did not attempt to deny the suppression of Jews and Bolsheviks. He admitted that he did not believe that Germany could be self-contained. Germany, he declared, was ready to attend a conference."

Mr. Lansbury was almost persuaded that a little plain Christianity might

have a chance with the former house-painter.

As a story the quest reads like a triumphant tour of peace personified. Mr. Lansbury himself, having discussed and urged his plan on all, came to a very simple conclusion—that if a meeting could be arranged between Chamberlain, Roosevelt, Daladier, Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini, under a chairman with a sense of humour, the whole lot of them might become suddenly and miraculously sane. Sanity is not yet possible because statesmen do not trust each other. The habit of suspicion can become ingrained, but the feeble and far-fetched apologies for armaments betray the urge for inner cleanliness.

Mr. Lansbury is an old hand: he opposed the Afghan, the Zulu, and the Kaffir wars and his mind is translated into the sunny stuff of peace. Yet that bluff comrade himself can confess to a faint trace of reluctance to be abreast of the times; he declines to fly in an aeroplane.

One way and another, the past is extremely obstinate. That is the truth about the madmen of Europe—they are living in the past. And it is curious that while they dart about their lands in aeroplanes with the zest of adolescents, they fear to soar into the sunshine at all.

ON THE SIDE OF SOME OF THE ANGELS

Across the Frontiers. By Philip Gibbs. Michael Joseph. 10s. 6d.

Sir Philip Gibbs is the author of eleven novels and eight books on the contemporary historical scene, of which I have read, I am afraid, not a word; but I shall read him in future, because *Across the Frontiers* is a very honest book. It is a survey of Europe's troubles since the War, an extremely readable account of the last twenty years of armed truce which we have mocked by the name of peace.

Sir Philip has the right sort of qualifications for writing such a book. He is very English, but he can understand and love cultures other than his own; he has first-hand knowledge of much that he describes, and he has the journalist's gift of the vivid evocative phrase; he really listens to what people tell him, instead of being, as it is only too easy to be, preoccupied with his own views.

But he has his own very definite views. he cares passionately for personal justice, for music and other flowers of civilization, for democracy, for manliness, for Christian behaviour, and above all for human individuality. He dislikes "left-wing intellectuals," and Spanish "reds," and Russians and all their ways—indeed, he protests altogether too much about the last. But just because he exhibits so definite a character I feel a sense of honesty in what he writes.

The book contains some revealing conversations with Italians, and their reasons for thinking that our foreign policy is inspired by simple lunacy; an excellent account of the rise and fall of the first League of Nations; a brief but effective survey of the problem of the fifteen million Jews in the world; some hard things about British administration in Palestine, and some harder things about the follies of much of our statesmanship; and, best of all, an understanding appreciation of what is good (and of course there is much) in Hitler's Germany—he particularly admires the Winter Help and the Strength through Joy movements.

The passages about the last days of the gracious Austrian culture, the origin of much of the best in the German contribution to human happiness and enlightenment, make pathetic reading now.

He sees that the inclusion of anti-gas

drill in our elementary education is the surrender of all civilized ideals, and all hopes of human intelligence. He sees the folly of violent revolution based on hatred—"the terrible delusion that the way to paradise is through the gates of hell." He sees that "collective security" is neither collective nor secure. He sees that nations are not abstractions, but groups of actual men and women, and believes that we must dissociate our friendship with other people from our dislike of the political systems under which they live (though he notably fails to do this himself in certain instances). And he concludes that the only way to a better world is through reconciliation, through generosity, through preparing not for war, but for peace.

This is an informing and often a moving book; one to read slowly and to think about.

L. B. PEKIN.

PURE SHEPPARD

More Sheppard's Pie. By H. R. L. Sheppard. Cassell. 3s. 6d.

This is a peculiarly satisfying anthology, though it is not easy at first to discover why it should be so. At a glance, Beverley Nichols followed by Christina Rossetti, Humbert Wolfe followed by Thomas Browne, are a little forbidding. How, when he includes verse by Alfred Noyes and prose by Charles Morgan, is an anthologist to avoid the trite, the pompous and the sentimental; or the inconsistent and painful when he juxtaposes to them extracts from Goethe, Blake, Carpenter, and Wilfred Owen?

While we look no further than the words themselves, we are liable to be disappointed and even shocked by some of the authors and some of the extracts included in the book. But why, after all, should we take it that, because a person has written a great deal of nonsense, he has written no sense; why take it that, because his methods of expressing himself are clumsy or banal, the thing he is trying to express is of no account?

The fact is that the making of this book is pure Sheppard; that is to say, it is tolerant, individual and full of insight. It has gone beneath forms of expression, beneath craftsmanship, and discovered about writing what Sheppard discovered about human beings, that there is good in all of them; he is concerned with the inward and spiritual grace, not with the outward and visible signs, which may indeed be considerably graceless.

So it is that *More Sheppard's Pie* is satisfying. On the whole it is more satisfying than *Sheppard's Pie*, perhaps because the qualities that led him to choose these extracts were at their surest in the last three years of his life. The book satisfies because it deals with fundamentals, even in the more frivolous of its sections, without smugness or self-consciousness.

All these extracts expressed for their collector some aspect of truth, and they express it again for the reader. Only a tiresomely "artistic" person would have omitted some of them, mistaking form for content; many others he would never have discovered. This anthologist's deeper insight makes a deeper assessment, and persuades his reader to follow his example. The experience is worth three shillings and sixpence.

R. H. WARD.

FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

Earlier Books Recalled by Patrick Richards

FALSEHOOD IN WARTIME. By Lord Ponsonby. Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.

An invaluable account of how from 1914-1918 passions were roused, indignation inflamed, patriotism exploited, and the "highest ideals desecrated by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, falsehood, trickery, and deliberate lying."

This detailed record of organized falsehood, faked atrocities, and the use of press, films, and photographs to instil hatred, "justify" the war, and maintain civilian morale, hammers home the fact that "when war is declared, truth is the first casualty."

THE WORLD DENOUNCED

Unto Caesar. By F. A. Voigt. Constable. 10s.

Reviewed by Rose Macaulay

READING Mr. Voigt's learned, vehement, denunciatory, stimulating and ill-written book about this fearful world in which we live, is rather like being buffeted by indignant winds from all, or nearly all, points of the compass at once.

Mr. Voigt is, as those who have heard his wireless talks on world affairs know, a very able and well-informed political journalist, who knows his Europe and deplors it, being not only well-informed but right-minded: that is to say, he cares for humanity, justice, freedom, peace, and religion.

The regrettable deficiency of these commodities in the world causes him to write with the vigorous denouncing sternness of one of the less tolerant Hebrew prophets. He hates most of what he finds in Europe; Marxism first, but national socialism a close second.

Then comes fascism, war, the League of Nations (in so far as it sees itself as an instrument for the chastisement of aggressor States, or toys with "monstrous proposals" for an international police force), what he calls "Utopian pacifism" (which includes both the League and the Lansbury brands), the political Left everywhere, and both parties in Spain, between which he holds a refreshingly commendable and disgusted judicial balance.

The one noble and admirable object he sees in a reprehensible world is what he calls the Pax Britannica, which is what some people call the British Empire. This must be as a strong man armed, that it may keep its goods in peace; it must also keep itself to itself, and fight only for its own vital interests, never for principles, other nations, "collective security," or any other will-o'-the-wisp. Through this firm self-interest only, a "pax Europaica" may be attained.

The best part of this full, lively and contentious book is the very interesting analysis and comparison of the great twin irrational myths of today, Marxism and national socialism, which feed on hate for one another, and yet are, as Mr. Voigt insists (he presses it even too far, I think) so closely allied in spirit and in system. About the philosophy and theory of both these "secular religions," he is thoroughly informed, very interesting, and condemnatory to the extent of ignoring everything good in their manifestations.

One feels, in particular, that he paints the great Soviet experiment, so unpleasant and oppressive in many of its aspects, with too unrelievedly black a brush; after all, it has raised masses of Russians from illiterate barbarism to some kind of conscious political life and idealism, smug, self-righteous, and intolerant as it seems to have made them, and cruel as the class war preached to them is.

The grotesque barbarities of the class war, of militant nationalism, and of the great Nordic nonsense, the cruelties of persecution, the horrors of Cheka and Gestapo, of red, brown, and black terror, so block Mr. Voigt's view, as they block the view of many of us, that he can see no light on the landscapes which these deformities darken. Lenin and Hitler posture over their respective domains rather like sub-human imps. But they are vividly drawn imps: the picture of Hitler, in particular, is a brilliant piece of psychological portraiture.

The amount of Mr. Voigt's reading and knowledge of his subject is immense. One could wish his manner as good as his matter; but perhaps prophetic indignation and elegance are difficult companions. He breaks into rashes of italics; he splits his text into jerky journalistic paragraphs; he is often flatly undistinguished in diction; he uses "protagonist" in a wrong sense . . . But nevertheless, one reads and admires.

Dear Sir . . .

MARTYRDOM

MRS. MUMFORD, in her letter to your issue for May 7, raises one or two points which I should be glad to be allowed to answer.

First, she follows the suggestion in my article of April 30 that "pacifists must find danger to react to" with the question, "Was Dick Sheppard's pacifism a reaction to danger and what will happen when we are all pacifists?" But I said that pacifists must find danger to react to, not that pacifism was a reaction to danger; I should still say it if we were all pacifists.

This brings me to Mrs. Mumford's second point. She says that she believes that "psychologically we all crave a little danger," but asks why we should choose to satisfy that particular craving. Why not? The most elementary textbook on psychology would tell us that such a "craving" should not be repressed, but should be properly and constructively used. In warfare it is used improperly and destructively. Pacifism must use it constructively.

I agree with Mrs. Mumford when she says that "pacifism means submission to, and acceptance of the laws of life rather than an assertive determination to shape events and people to our own ends."

Finally, Mrs. Mumford asks whether I want "to defy the law for the sake of defying the law." The answer is, No. Nor can I find in my article any indication that it might be otherwise.

Surely my use, for the sake of illustrating a point, of the old tag about the blood of the martyrs being the seed of the Church, can hardly be construed as an exhortation to self-immolation.

I believe that your correspondent would agree with me that, as Dr. Gray recently pointed out, pacifism is more than saying no to war, and demands an entirely new set of fundamental principles, and that one of these principles is the consideration of others before oneself; this is liable to entail sacrifice. Should we not be ready if need be to give at least as much for peace as the soldier gives for war?

The man who seeks "martyrdom" for the sake of self-glorification is no pacifist, and no martyr—there is a difference between suicide and the cross—but if pacifism implies self-sacrifice, I can find no quotation more fitted to illustrate it than the one which Mrs. Mumford uses: "The martyr no longer desires anything for himself, not even martyrdom."

R. H. WARD.

72, Abbey Road, N.W.8.

HOW difficult it is for the pacifist to restrain the desire to have a good "go" at somebody now and again; and how well Margery Mumford has pacifically answered the points made by R. H. Ward in his amazing article. That we must seek danger so that we may react to it seems to be an entirely mistaken idea . . . to live as a pacifist in the midst of a non-pacifist society is sufficiently hard and dangerous for anybody. If we got down to trying to do that and to helping others to do it, in our little fellowships up and down the country, we should be living gloriously, excitingly and constructively.

Meantime if a community does mad things it is a reflection on ourselves that we have not so far succeeded in helping the community to do better. People may be fools, empty-headed, slogan-followers, and we may have to go to the very roots of our educational system to alter all that, but are we to go offering more noisy slogans, inviting danger so that we may make a show of bravery, rather than setting about the less spectacular but more important job of finding and offering alternatives to all the evils which the mob believe and follow so easily?

I for one at any rate agree with Margery Mumford that true pacifism may, and oftentimes must, mean submission. There seems to be a great deal of confusion in the minds of pacifists between "resisting not evil" and openly going out seeking evil.

ARP seems to be giving us an example of this, and incidentally serving the Government's purposes very well in wasting a lot of the valuable time of pacifists and the PPU. To pacifists in public employment or responsible positions (school governors, councillors, firemen, teachers, hospital and prison staffs) there are only two alternatives—give up the responsible position, or submit to the evil fact that the authority to whom they have offered their service and loyalty "decrees" ARP and they must suffer to obey, making what protest and conditions they can.

For those with no responsible position, blank refusal to take any part voluntarily in ARP should, in my humble opinion, be the answer; for ARP presupposes an enemy and

every moment voluntarily given to ARP is a moment withdrawn from peace living and constructive peace making in which there can be no enemies.

Propaganda, "defence," campaigns based on noise, slogans, marches, danger, political opposition—these things have the outward show of excitement—they stir up the dust and do not need much thought.

The solid work of establishing the nuclei of the new society, here and now, out of which the new society must and will grow, is the work we are neglecting. True loyalty to that will provide us with infinite possibilities of unpopularity, risk, danger and martyrdom, but these will and can never be of our own seeking.

FRANK DAWTRY.

Larksfield,
Crofton Hall Estate,
Crofton, Wakefield.

Upon reading Margery Mumford's letter in PEACE NEWS of May 7, I became filled with a sense of deep dismay.

The fact of a pacifist actually stating, and apparently proud of being able to state, that she has no desire to be a martyr, that she wishes at all costs to avoid danger, and that she considers pacifism means submission to and acceptance of the laws of life rather than an assertive determination to shape events and people to our own ends, however peaceful they may be, seems to me to be almost "heresy."

If all pacifists hold these views, it would be just as well to disband the Peace Pledge Union, stop publishing PEACE NEWS, forget that Dick Sheppard ever lived, in fact to abandon ourselves to a fatalistic expectance of war and all its horrors; to be uncaring whether the Government is leading us toward tragedy; not to worry about the opposition with which we meet—to make no resistance at all.

I have always considered pacifism to be a revolutionary movement, and I believe it can only accomplish its aims by being revolutionary in action. I should have expected Margery Mumford to have known this—to have realized that pacifism is a way of non-violent resistance rather than an apathetic acceptance of facts.

As for the three particular points she raises, the first appears to mean very little, and the second does not convey very much to me. The third which makes some vague remarks about Mr. Ward wishing to defy the law, is quite unfounded in actual fact. In his article, Mr. Ward expressed no desire to avoid the law and to defy the Government. He merely remarked that it is difficult at present for a pacifist to break the laws and he urged pacifists to take up social work—work of a real service to humanity rather than a selfish disregard of other people's happiness and comfort.

I would repeat Mr. Ward's enjoiner—we have got to live pacifism as well as preach it. And if we all hang on to our safe jobs and neglect other people—in fact doing everything except doing unto others as we would be done unto, we can never expect to achieve anything like pacifism or peace.

HARRY HUNT.

15, Westbrook Road,
Thornton Heath, Surrey.

Margery Mumford's comments on Richard Ward's article in your issue of April 30, correspond very much with my own feelings on this question of martyrdom. There is the danger, I think, of pacifists being tempted by Richard Ward's article to "invent" dangers to react to which might easily lead to displays of spectacular heroics not necessarily relative to or complementary to pacifism.

Of Margery Mumford's three points, the correct answer to the first one is, I suggest, of special significance to pacifists. She asks "Was Dick Sheppard's pacifism a reaction to danger?" I presume I agree with her in thinking it was not. Dick's pacifism was the product of his own self discipline and became perfectly natural to him.

It was not, to my mind, a reaction to danger or to anything else, but pure creative action, both positive and purposive. It was the other man who reacted to Dick's pacifism. If Dick came into contact with danger, as he oftentimes did, it was incidental and not deliberately sought.

It seems to me that pacifists in these days can only too easily find opportunity of dancing to an unlimited number of jazz tunes played by other people, to the exclusion of their participating in a much finer symphony which might be their own. Have we so thoroughly mastered this "difficult business of living" that we must needs seek fresh dangers to conquer? Is it not a question of what we should "be" rather than what we might "do"? By no means let us hide ourselves, but also let us not rush feverishly up against brick walls, when we might have quietly and confidently walked in through the gate.

FRANK B. MIDDLETON.

"Mattisall,"
114, Icknield Way,
Letchworth.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

SUSAN MILES, in her article on "Women and the Peace Pledge," referred to the work the PPU is doing—which the Church is failing to do—the PPU affirming the individual's right to withstand the imposition of a national

(Continued on page 14, col. 1).

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(Continued from page 13, col. 2.)

standard, which violates his conscience. The PPU is backed up by one of our greatest scholars and historians, Lord Acton, who in his lecture on Modern History to the students at Cambridge University, speaking on the "beginning of the modern State," said:

"The knowledge of good and evil is not an exclusive and sublime prerogative assigned to States, or nations, or majorities. When it had been defined and recognized as something divine in human nature, its action was to limit power by causing the sovereign voice within to be heard above the expressed will and settled custom of surrounding men."

"By that hypothesis, the soul became more sacred than the State, because it receives light from above, as well as because its concerns are eternal and out of all proportion with the common interests of government."

"That is the root from which liberty of conscience was developed, and all other liberty needed to confine the sphere of power in order that it may not challenge the supremacy of that which is highest and best in man."

E. C. MICHAMS.

"Sea Spray,"
Locks Common,
Porthcawl, Glamorgan.

Nobody appears to have answered Mr. Batley's interesting letter in your issue of April 9, asking for a pagifism that might commend itself to "the heart of a patriot."

Patriotic pacifism implies a somewhat contradictory compound, as generally patriots are pacific only when the State with which they identify themselves is in ascendancy, and such ascendancy is apt to render bellicose the patriots of other States. It is really the head of the patriot that needs attention, and your correspondent would do well to consider the absurdity of a cult that persuades the unreflecting masses in all lands to cherish the belief that they are the cream of creation.

Patriotism, politically understood, is merely nationalism, and the preposterous nonsense propagated in Germany concerning the Nordic superman is simply a fuller development of the patriotic complex common in the world at large. Nationalism is the main ingredient of modern wars.

Mr. Batley assigns three causes for his patriotism, but none of these, if correctly construed, need render him warlike:

1. He is "fond of his beautiful country." If a "country" is here to be interpreted in terms of scenery and people, then assuredly England possesses its quota of both, as do other lands; there is, however, not only a Windermere but also a Widnes. No patriotism is requisite for affection toward places and persons of one's acquaintance, in whatever part of the world they may be.

2. Your correspondent is "grateful for the enormous benefits which he has inherited as an Englishman." The benefits of civilization and "progress" and also the liabilities (which to some of us seem to outweigh the gains) are an emanation from the world in general, not from any particular "country"; freedom, within limits, is fairly common, though in all States it may be fettered by war or its aftermath. British imperialism may have bestowed "enormous benefits" upon a certain number of English folk, but what advantages it brings to the ordinary individual in England is far from clear.

3. Further, Mr. Batley is "proud of the achievements of his fathers." Pride, however, is from the Christian point of view a vice, and when pride or vanity is associated in an individual with achievements for which he is in no sense responsible, such conceit is not only morally objectionable but also stupid. No doubt Mr. Batley's ancestors—like everybody else—performed deeds that were praiseworthy and others that were deplorable, but he should feel neither pride nor shame on that account.

JOHN NIBB.

London, W.C.1.

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Queer Origins of

THE WORDS WE USE

5.—BALK

POWER politics, the game most governments play nowadays, consists of making plans to balk whatever nation is considered to be a possible enemy.

The origin of the word "to balk" shows that it is more correctly spelt without a "u" in the middle, for it is from the Old English word balca, meaning a mound.

From referring to any mound it soon came to be applied specially to the mound (ridge) between two furrows. Being thus an obstacle to progress across a field it naturally provided a metaphorical application to checks and hindrances, and the verb followed.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

14 (Sat.) **ROMFORD**; The Market; peace stall; PPU.

NORWICH; 2.30 p.m. St. Andrew's Hall; delegate peace convention; George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Mary Gamble, James Hudson, Dr. Alex Wood, Dr. Salter, Lord Sanderson, and Wilfred Wellock, Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

EDMONTON; 4 p.m. Independent Church; meet for poster parade; PPU.

BISHOP'S STORTFORD; 4.15 p.m. The Causeway; open-air meeting; Canon C. E. Raven; Peace Council.

EDMONTON; 8 p.m. Central Hall, Fore Street, Bertrand Russell; PPU.

HASTINGS; 8 p.m. St. Clement's Hall; play, *Tarakand*; Hastings Pax Players; short address by Rev. Newton Holden.

ILFORD; 8 p.m. Parish Hall, Baxter Road, Uphall Road; two peace plays *Black 'Eil* and *The Pen is Mightier*; short address by Roy Walker; St. Luke's Church.

15 (Sun.) **KENSINGTON**; 11 a.m. The Mall, Notting Hill Gate; "This ARP Business"; Free Religious Movement.

ECCLES CROSS; 8 p.m. Broadway Cinema; Miss Ruth Fry, James H. Hudson, Rev. Stanley Mossop, and Principal George Sutherland (chairman); PPU.

SHEFFIELD; 8.15 p.m. City Hall; Bertrand Russell, and H. G. McGhee (chairman); PPU.

15-22 (Sun.-Sun.) **LEEDS**; Peace Week.

16 (Mon.) **LONDON, W.C.1**; 5.15 p.m. University College, Gower Street; Canon Stuart Morris on "Fascism, Communism, and Pacifism."

HERNE HILL; 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Half Moon Lane; Professor Catlin on "Germany, Britain, and Peace"; L. Silkin (chairman); LNU.

URMSTON; 8 p.m. Congregational School, Flixton Road; Miss Ruth Fry, Wilfred Wellock, and Rev. Stanley Mossop (chairman); PPU.

WOLVERHAMPTON; 8 p.m. Darlington Street Methodist Church; Bertrand Russell, Rev. P. L. D. Chatterton, and Rev. J. W. Barnsley (chairman); PPU.

16-21 (Mon.-Sat.) **LETHWORTH**; Peace Week.

17 (Tues.) **LEEDS**; 3 p.m. Philosophical Hall, Park Row; Women's Rally; Cr. Mrs. Lillian Hammond (chairman), and Miss E. Thorneycroft; Peace Week.

RUGBY; 3 p.m. The Baths, Regent Place; meet for Women's Peace Walk; PPU.

BRADFORD; 7.45 p.m. Mechanics' Institute; Bertrand Russell on "Can War Stop Fascism?"; Dr. Denby (chairman); PPU.

MANCHESTER; 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Dr. Alfred Salter on "The Van Zeeland Report—What are you doing about it?"; Society of Friends and PPU.

LEEDS; 8 p.m. St. Bartholomew's Church, Hut, Wesley Road, Armley; Rhys J. Davies and Rev. F. E. Mercer (chairman); Peace Week.

18 (Wed.) **GLASGOW**; 7.30 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; monthly meeting; PPU.

RUGBY; 7.30 p.m. Baptist Schoolrooms, Regent Place; Rev. J. P. Herbert (chairman), and Ruth Fry; PPU.

ABERDEEN; 7.45 p.m. YMCA; Bertrand Russell (chairman), and Principal Fyfe; PPU.

EDGWARE; 8 p.m. Harwood Hall (Union Church), Mill Hill Broadway; Ben Greene, Rev. McEwan Lawson, Dr. Har Dayal, and E. Sewell Harris (chairman) on "The PPU Manifesto"; PPU.

KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

PENGE; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Green Lane; Reginald Sorensen and Roy Walker on "The Way to Peace"; PPU.

HANWELL; 8.15 p.m. Public Library; inaugural meeting; PPU.

19 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; John Barclay on "Pilgrim's Progress"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mr. Hlubi (African) on "African Culture"; City PPU group.

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Events Coming Shortly

May

23 (Mon.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 8 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; Merttens Peace Lecture; Dr. Christian L. Lange on "Imperialism and Peace"; Peace Committee of Society of Friends.

ORPINGTON; 8 p.m., Village Hall; Bertrand Russell, Roy Walker, and Rev. Kenneth Budd (chairman); PPU.

26 (Thurs.) **WANDSWORTH**; 8.15 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street; Rev. R. T. Taylor on "The Peace Movement in New Zealand"; PPU.

27-29 (Fri.-Sun.) **BRISTOL**; Central Hall, Old Market; National Peace Congress; National Peace Council. Details from Gerald Bailey, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

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ACCORDING to Lord Listowel, about 90 percent of the population receives 55 percent of the total national income and the remaining 45 percent of the national income goes to only 10 percent of the population.

The Miner Gets 57s. 6d.

AS reported in *Hansard* on April 14, the Minister of Mines told Parliament:

The estimated total wages bill in the coal-mining industry in Great Britain during the year 1937 was £114,105,000 and the earnings per wage-earner employed, £149 10s. 1d., including the value of allowances in kind.

That works out at 57s. 6d. a week.

Cost of Coal

NUMBER of death caused by accidents in British mines and quarries last year, 945; the year before: 878.

—*Forward*, April 30.

They all love Hitler . . .

HOW secure is Hitler's dictatorship? Top leaders in the Nazi hierarchy are not betting on a long reign. These include the infamous Julius Streicher, the strutting General Goering, the unspeakable Goebbels, Hitler's intimate, Rudolph Hess, Von Papen, and Bruckner. They all have large sums of money and securities deposited in foreign banks. They all love Adolf—but!

American New Leader, April 9.

Lost and Won?

Under the title "We Won the World War," the German paper *Schwarze Korps* declared on April 21:

In the twentieth year after the Great War Germany is greater, more populous, and politically and economically more independent than ever before. Germany's quick ascent not only stands in direct connexion with the World War but is the real issue of the War.

It was only the noise of battle that stopped in November, 1918. What followed was a continuation of the war with other means. . . . The war has been finished by our Führer—by his victory.

More Killed than in War

During the first quarter of this year 45,667 people were injured on the roads, while 1,499 were killed.

To give some idea of the rate at which people were being killed on the roads, Mr. F. W. Hirst, president of the Pedestrians' Association, said at the ninth annual meeting of the association on April 11 that

in Catalonia, according to the Government of the country, 1,542 persons had been killed and 1,979 wounded in 212 air raids and 17 bombardments from the sea, from the beginning of the Spanish war to February 5 last. During the same period 1,637 persons were killed and 82,507 injured in the Metropolitan Police area, and 10,235 killed and 343,389 injured in road accidents in the whole of Britain.

Big Business

MONOPOLIES are developing in the business of running football pools just as they have already done in other spheres. The *Scottish Fiery Cross* for March declares that the bulk of the pool business is done by a dozen firms, which form an exclusive ring known as the Football Pool Promoters' Association. Only two of these firms are in Scotland, but both operate from Edinburgh. It is interesting to learn that the eight largest firms have only 38 shareholders. The largest firm has five shareholders, three of whom bear the same family name.

The firms in this association, according to *Forward*, reap a profit of about £2,250,000 a year.

Contrast

A SORT of club has been formed in London for the purpose of dining at £2 10s. a head.

There is a miner in Wales . . . who has just drawn his week's wages—one penny!

He worked only one day, produced three tons of coal, was credited with 9s. 5d., and had various deductions, including 5s. 6d. for coal supplied, which came to 9s. 4d.

—*John Bull*, April 23.

Italy's Past—and Ours

ITALY has built a great air fleet to support her army and her navy in the Mediterranean. And she has obtained Tripoli and Abyssinia by war.

Meanwhile the British Empire has, in the last two generations, obtained by war, in Africa alone, Basutoland, Matabeleland, the Sudan, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and "mandates" in South-West Africa, Tanganyika, and parts of the Cameroons and Togoland—besides further vast territories acquired without war.

—Professor G. M. Trevelyan in *The Times*, April 19.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By Our Lobby Correspondent

THE by-election at Lichfield serves, as is the way of by-elections, as the latest barometric reading for sorely harassed politicians. Very few of them can guess what sort of weather awaits them, all are anxious to know.

The dark clouds of the international situation overshadow all ordinary domestic concerns and preoccupations. Thus all the parties are now watching with the greatest keenness expressions of electoral opinion.

Like West Fulham, the Lichfield result has sent the Labour forces wild with delight. More cautious observers are not listened to.

In a division where there are large bodies of miners who once sent the general secretary of their Federation to the House, now strengthened by more than 10,000 Birmingham slum-dwellers, a poll of only 58 percent makes the Labour majority of 826 uncertain ground for building high hopes for the next general election.

Mr. Chamberlain is, of course, in no better case. His candidate lost the seat. To make the result worse, at least half the electorate of the division consisted of people who work in Birmingham. An additional third is very much under the thumb of landlord and Church. Thus, the Chamberlain pill is weakening.

Anyone who makes strident claims on the basis of Lichfield result, or draws large conclusions therefrom, exercises more imagination than the bare facts encourage.

The debate on the Irish Settlement produced one or two leading statements from the Government, from which pacifists may derive the liveliest satisfaction.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's reasons for taking the risks involved in giving up all naval and military controls in Ireland could be appropriately included in the manifesto of the PPU.

The Dominion Secretary said:

The alternatives before the British Government had been whether we could continue to occupy the Irish ports with the resentment and hostility of the Irish people or whether we should come out of the ports and create conditions where greater friendship and cooperation at last might occur.

The present Government took the advice of their naval advisers and chiefs of staff and they examined together the two alternatives. They deliberately reached the conclusion that the security of this country would be greater if they were to choose the second course instead of the first.

In that statement is an account of how sanity came to prevail over fear in one area where we were involved in trouble. It is that view which pacifists believe ought to prevail in every area where the resentments of people continue and war preparations are made.

The remarkable thing was that the view was accepted not only by the Government but even by the military experts, and no-one in the House of Commons except Mr. Winston Churchill and his small band of irreconcilable die-hards dared to oppose it.

But Mr. Churchill exudes martial ardour through every pore. It was expected that he would say what he did say. None heeded him.

It can, of course, be argued that the British Government retreated from behind their guns in the Irish fortifications in order that they might be manned by the Irish themselves. No doubt, this was the intention.

But even so, the plain fact stands that we have kept our troops in Ireland these many years because we distrusted the Irish. And now at long last, though risks are great, the distrust is to be dispensed with.

Ulster and Mr. Churchill are not so daring. But even they may learn in time.

There are many accounts now appearing in the press of the strong pressure which this country is making upon the Government of Czechoslovakia to meet the claims of the Germans within their gates as far as is consistent with their duty to the whole of their nation.

That is only an application of the principle now adopted in Ireland. It is better where fear and suspicion have long prevailed, to act as though these evil quibbles did not exist.

Friendliness and cooperation can be secured in no other way than by the practice of friendliness and cooperation. "No truck" with dictators is a policy for lunatics.

The die-hards at Transport House are like the die-hards in Ulster.

Both alike have concentrated their hate and fury on their selected enemy.

Both alike create a situation which is of the greatest danger even from the point of view of the military considerations in which they place their trust.

Both must be rescued from themselves if Ireland is to be saved from chaos and Czechoslovakia from annihilation.

A leading Ulster Unionist insisted on getting from the Prime Minister a pledge that no secret bargain with Eire regarding partition had been arrived at.

It is curious that he should have thought it necessary to ask for such a pledge. Did not Lord Craigavon proclaim after the Unionist victory at the last Ulster general election that the quietus had been finally given to all claims for a United Ireland? The Ulster MPs at Westminster do not share Craigavon's confidence.

It is just as necessary for the British Government to use its influence with Belfast as with Prague. There is at least the closest political sympathy between the present Governments in London and Belfast.

Why should not Belfast be urged to show the same consideration for the Ulster Catholic minority and the claims of Eire as Prague is now asked to accord to Henlein's German party and to the German Reich?

We pacifists must continue to repeat the words of the Dominion Secretary in the ears of all—"We chose in favour of conditions where greater friendship and cooperation at last might occur."

DON'T USE TOOTH-PASTE

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MODERN CULTURE INSTITUTE, EDGWARE (Middx.).

All about the British Empire

WITH a view to presenting a picture of the British Empire as it really is—in fact, not in rhetoric—a new publication will be launched on Monday under the title *Empire: A Monthly Record*.

The subjects to be dealt with in the first number include "India's Attitude on the War Question," "Trinidad on Strike," "Cocoa and Cotton in West Africa," and "The South African Protectorates."

Empire will be published on the fifteenth of each month, price 3d, with an annual subscription (post paid) of 3s. 6d.

IMPERIALISM AND PEACE

The tenth Merttens Peace Lecture will be given at Friends House, London, at 8 p.m. on May 23, when Dr. Christian L. Lange will lecture on "Imperialism and Peace." The lecturer, who is a distinguished Norwegian and the Nobel Prize winner for 1921, will trace the way in which imperialism has grown to be a thing of immense importance for the great Powers. He will show the way in which it controls economic as well as political policies, and the serious effect which it has on efforts for international peace.

THE HEART

The Prevention and Cure of Cardiac Conditions
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(Thorax, 3a, 6d.)

A. S. Neill writes—" . . . the most optimistic book I have read on any medical subject. . . . I wish I could give away a million copies. . . . From a Medical Doctor—" . . . I feel that at last the right book has been written. . . . the needs of both patient and practitioner are supplied. Health & Life Editorial—" . . . combining sound physiology, sound reasoning, sound psychology and sound instruction. . . . has its roots firmly in the strong soil of observation, technical knowledge and experience." From all Booksellers or 3s. 10d. by post from E.S.N.T., 11 Drumshugh Gardens, Edinburgh, 3.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP OPEN MEETING

ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL, EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1 (opposite St. Pancras Station)
THURSDAY, MAY 19th, 8 p.m.
In the Chair - LORD TAVISTOCK

Speakers:
The Rev. Canon STUART D. MORRIS
The Rev. W. C. ROBERTS
The Rt. Hon. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.
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PEACE NEWS

May 14, 1938

MANIFESTO CAMPAIGN IS NOW IN ITS STRIDE

BESIDES the meeting held in London by Embassies of Reconciliation and the convention held in Southampton by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group (reported elsewhere), the case for constructive peace-making, as outlined in the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto, was put at large public meetings in other parts of the country, some of which are reported below.

★
"It is good to face the prospect of having to suffer in the cause of peace. We should certainly have to suffer in the world catastrophe which threatens us, and we rejoice in the alternative of being able to suffer for the good of others, rather than in the course of inflicting suffering in war."

So said Mr. J. H. Hudson, at the first public propaganda meeting held by the Bermondsey PPU Group, for which the Bermondsey Central Libraries Hall was nearly filled with "real outsiders."

Mr. Theodore Faithfull dealt in a very provocative way with questions of finance, banking, and economics.

Dr. Alfred Salter, in the chair, outlined the various approaches to the pacifist position, and the case for the PPU manifesto, which he set against the dark background of the air raid menace.

Miss Eden, group leader, outlined plans to "put the PPU well on the map in Bermondsey."

MAN MUST CHOOSE

"The British public is now confronted with two policies, and only two—that of rearmament agreed to by both Government and Opposition, and that of appeasement along the lines advocated by the PPU."

With these words, the chairman, the Venerable Percy Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent, opened last week the first mass meeting organized by the Stoke Group in the Victoria Hall, Hanley.

Mr. Laurence Housman, who was enthusiastically received, asked his audience to consider the growth of mankind, and declared that pacifism was a biological necessity. "Museums can now show us once powerful prehistoric creatures which are now extinct fossils. Man, too, must adapt himself to changing conditions, and make his choice between the will to power and the will to serve, between the highly armed nation State and the cooperative world community. Up to now he has chosen the former, and the process of evolution has stopped."

"The root cause of war," he added, "is in our social and economic system, in our departure from the teaching of Christ."

Canon Stuart Morris, Chairman of the PPU, followed with a plea that we have no right to lose sight of Brother Man under his various "isms."

"Hatred generates fear," he said, "and this fear begets further fear until the vicious circle is complete."

"Right policy must aim at getting down to the realm in which fear is created and to do this we must face certain facts. The starkest reality is that we owe our well-being to the starvation of others: our high tariffs are literally starving Central European nations. The fascist nations declare that only violence can release them from their disadvantages. By our British rearmament programme we express agreement with them and so throw away the whole leadership of Europe. Only by a policy of economic reconciliation can we regain the initiative."

MAYOR WANTED TO BE THERE

In spite of the counter-attraction of Henry Hall and his Band, who played to a packed house on Sunday, only a few yards away a considerable audience gathered to hear Lord Ponsonby and Canon Stuart Morris at the Cinema de Luxe, Hastings, and listened with remarkable sympathy to the case for constructive pacifism.

Many members of the Corporation were present, and an apology was read from the Mayor, who said that had he not been called abroad on Corporation business, he would most certainly have been present.

Canon Morris, in a fine speech compared the interdependence of the nations, to the relationship between two people living in close contact. They have to learn to live together, and if there is not trust and confidence, and a readiness to make up quarrels, inevitably they would grow to hate one another.

Lord Ponsonby traced the history of war from the wars of religion and dynasties up to wars fought on economic and imperialist grounds. "I regard this question of rearmament as a question of winter weather."

Baptist Pacifists Number More Than 700

From a Correspondent

FOUR hundred people gathered in the City Temple for the third annual meeting of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, when a membership of 692 and a growing number of pacifist groups in Baptist churches was reported.

New members enrolled after the meeting and the membership is now well over 700.

After four years' splendid work Mr. Haden is retiring from the secretaryship and will succeed the Rev. A. H. Hawkins as chairman.

GROUPS IN COLLEGES

Pacifist members of Slough Baptist Church have formed themselves into a group of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship. The new general secretary of the Fellowship, the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, is visiting the group's first publicity meeting on Wednesday, May 18, in the Lecture Hall of the Baptist Church, Slough.

A number of inquiries have also been received from PPU members who are also members of Upminster Baptist Church and it is hoped that a branch will shortly be formed there.

Strong groups are already in existence in Birmingham, Bristol, Coventry, Harrow, Swansea and Walthamstow. Three of the Baptist theological colleges (Bristol, Rawdon, and Regent's Park, Oxford) also have strong groups.

THIS FUNNY BUSINESS OF A.R.P.

LADIES and gentlemen, we present "Air Raid Precautions"—a perfectly true farce in three acts:—

ACT 1

Place: Slough, Buckinghamshire.

Time: Saturday afternoon (April 30).

The scene opens with a number of members of the Peace Pledge Union, some wearing gas masks, walking along the High Street to advertise a public debate on the coming Wednesday, on the efficiency of ARP.

Little boy: "Look at them funny people, daddy, what have they got on?"

Father: "They're gas masks; you'll have to wear one if war breaks out!"

The poster parade continues past a bus stop, where several women are waiting with their shopping bags.

"Coo, Mary, what's this turned up?"

"Strike me if it ain't someone with gas-masks on; don't they look nice?"

"Fancy going out with the old man with one of them on."

A little further along two lads notice that the eye windows of the leaders' mask are covered in mist from the heat of his breath. "Struth, George, he's getting fog-bound."

ACT 2

Scene: The hall in which the debate is to take place.

Roy Walker, the chairman, and the group secretary are on the platform. The latter announces that the group had advertised the meeting as one where representatives of the local ARP Committee and Town Council would be present. He is sorry to say that, despite letters (unanswered) and phone calls, neither body was interested enough to send any official representative. Therefore the Maidenhead group leader will take the chair, and Mr. Roy Walker will be speaking on behalf of the opposition. After the address an opportunity is given to send written questions to the chairman.

It then becomes obvious that the local ARP is represented on the floor of the meeting and quite a number of questions are answered. The most persistent one being: *What have you to put in the place of ARP?*

ACT 3

Time: The following Saturday.

A black-out has been arranged for this night, its area to include Slough Trading Estate, Eton College, and Windsor Castle.

There are posters everywhere informing residents that all lights must be dimmed in houses, only rear lights on cars to be used, &c., and that at 11 p.m. practice will start. . .

At 11.30 the base of operations, the Town Hall, is a blaze of light, the street lights are left on until 12.30 as usual, and "daylight" lamps along the main road by the Trading Estate are burning all night.

A tremendous bang is heard to the east of the town, as a warning to the fire brigade of a serious outbreak of "fire." Five, ten, fifteen minutes go by, and then the brigade arrives. They had gone to the wrong fire.

So as to be on time at the next outbreak, they go down to where they have been told the next outbreak is to be a quarter of an hour before the signal, and arrive about two minutes after the alarm has been given—a good "turn out."

About eighty St. John Ambulance men are in the local station, where there is every conceivable appliance.

The person in charge looks very important in full regalia of St. John uniform, plus oilskin boots and rubber gloves. But he is very "fed up" and, in response to inquiries, says they have only had one patient after one and a half hours' waiting, "and 'e went off before we'd finished 'im because 'e was fed up."

"They phoned through and said there had been a big explosion down the town, and I takes all the lads and me barrier and trucks down there, but I can't find a ruddy patient."

What have you to put in place of ARP? Mental defectives!

J. F. P.

Films

Will They See Their Own Image?

"J'accuse." Curzon.

ON the whole, a disappointing film. It begins well. Symbolism is mixed judiciously with realism. A dead dove lies on the rim of the fountain, and Christ on a broken crucifix leans head downward in the poisoned water.

The pity and horror of war is made unbearably poignant in the simplicity of the war scenes. Two soldiers who are enemies because of their love for a woman, are the centre point of this tragic fresco.

They go out with a patrol a few hours before the Armistice is signed. In the midst of the frenzied joy that follows the news that the War is over, the patrol returns. All are dead except the two. They lie side by side. One is dying and the other will recover. They stretch out their hands until they meet in a grasp death cannot break.

Jean, the survivor is left with one

(Continued from col. 1.)

ment," he said, "and all it involves, all the farce of ARP which is connected with it, everything which shows that we are preparing and fearing an enemy, as bringing an enemy. If we get war-minded, we shall have war."

The PPU wanted to see this country take a step, which might mean risk, but nothing like the risk of the abyss in front of us if we went on with our present policy. It wanted to hear the country saying to the world, "We renounce this method of trying to settle international difficulties. We shall not limit our armaments, we shall disarm."

CAMPAIGN IN EASTBOURNE

A three-day campaign at Eastbourne was assisted by members from Brighton, Lewes, Bexhill, and Hastings, who have undoubtedly helped to put PPU on the map in this town.

On Friday last John Barclay and Dr. Crow spoke to an interested audience, many of whom took away pledge cards. A patient suffering from an abscess was likened to a country labouring under an injustice, by Dr. Crow, who said the patient would become irritable and angry with pain, and would fly to all sorts of patent medicines, such as dictators. "I do not hit a delirious patient on the head with a sledge-hammer," said Dr. Crow, "I try to find the causes of his illness and treat them."

The growth of the PPU was described by John Barclay, who made a stirring appeal to every individual to play his particular part. "If every person in this room," he said, "would really determine to put an end to war, they could do it, and nothing on earth could stop them."

An open-air meeting on Saturday, addressed by John Barclay and others was listened to by an interested audience which stayed to the close, despite winter weather.

idea: that the War shall not have been fought in vain. His friends are the dead. His home is in the fields that hold their broken bodies.

THE DEAD ARISE

It is here that the film loses grip because it fails to deal courageously with the fantasy. The idea is excellent: if people could have a vivid and physical memory of the last war's dead, then there would be no more war.

The symbolism chosen to portray this idea is that the dead rise, called back by their living friend, to accuse the world of betraying them. This is spoiled by the building up of an atmosphere of black magic, complete with thunderstorm, cat, swords dropping from walls, and the rest of the bag of tricks.

The early part of the film was much more moving and terrible than the conclusion, which should have been the high spot.

The marching army of the dead is photographed flat so that one is comforted by a sense of illusion. The producer should have had the courage to let the army march unmasked by photographic trick. This is not a plea for added horror. But the army should have been real and not a phantom.

None the less, a film worth seeing—a terrible, bitter indictment of post-war politics. It shows, and brings home, how we have betrayed the ideals of the men who fought in the War.

See it. And—more important still—take your non-pacifist friends to see it. Let them read the words of Abel Gance, the director of the film: *I dedicate this film to the dead of the war of tomorrow, because they will undoubtedly fail to recognize their own image.*

M.S.

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